AN INVASION OF INDIA IN 1927

BY

P. SUBRAHMANYAM B.A.,

Late Editor, "Liberal."

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DEDICATED

To

THE FRIEND

Who helped to publish

this Book.

THE AUTHOR'S NOTE.

THE book was written in July 1918, after the publication of the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme of reforms under the title of the "German Invasion of India in 1927." It was intended to bring out the contrast in high relief between bureaucratic and democratic India. A foreign invasion of the country is utilized as a peg to describe the evils of the scheme in actual working as contrasted with the free atmosphere of a happy, contented, and prosperous India under democratic rule. After the Russian collapse and the German debacle, no reasonable apprehension need be entertained about any serious peril from the North-western frontier, despite the mad freaks of the present usurper of the Afghan throne. The late Kaiser used to warn Western diplomats about the Yellow-Peril. So the Mongol hordes are made to attack our vulnerable North-Eastern province, instead of the Germans rushing through Chitral and Malakh and

Pass, and devastating the fair province of the Punjab, as it was originally written when a German Invasion of India was seriously apprehended. The Mongol has stepped into the place of the German; and the necessary alterations have been made in the book.

Meanwhile the national demand for liberty has been definitely formulated at Bombay, and later on expressed in clearer and more precise terms at Delhi. Some Indian politicians apparently under hereditary influence of ages of political subordination, are afraid even to make a stern demand for national self-determination under the aegis of the British Empire, and have ignored the stubborn facts of history, that for ages past since the dawn of history, liberty was never doled out in instalments; and it was conferred at one stroke on the degenerate descendants of ancient Greece, the semi-civilized Slavs of the Balkan states, and the emancipated slaves of the Southern States of America. Nor does the Peace Conference now sitting at Versailles propose to confer liberty on the Poles, the Armenians, the Czecho-Slovaks or the Jugo-

Slovaks in fitful and periodical doles or instalments.

It is hoped that the publication of the book will remove at least a few of the delusions clustering round the Montford Scheme and other bureaucratic devices for the better government of India.

P. SUBRAMANYAM.

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An Invasion of India in 1927.

CHAPTER I

PRELIMINARY.

It was on a pleasant summer evening in March 1927 that the Honourable Dewan Bahadur Keralasami Iyer sat brooding over the calamities that had befallen to his fatherland. The north-eastern part of the Indian Empire is now menaced by the Mongol hordes who rushed from the southern province of China, and occupied the northern portion of Burmah, dashing by forced marches and massed formations against the important port of Moulmein. The enemy would soon be thundering at the gates of Rangoon. The whole country has been thrown into an indescribable ferment; and the seat of the Government of India was transferred for greater convenience and despatch of business to Calcutta so as to be in closer proximity

with the scene of operations in Burmah. It was a misfortune that Japan, felt bound by treaty obligations to China, chose to remain neutral in spite of the remonstrations of Britain. It was strenuously urged on the Japanese Government that an offensive and defensive alliance with China would not nullify the earlier obligations contracted under the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. Japan was really impaled on the horns of a dilemma. She found it difficult to render help to Britain in her Eastern Empire as against the Chinese forces operating in Burmah. Nor was she prepared to join the enemies of Britain, It was a marvel to her that, under a strong republican government formed in Pekin within less than a decade, China rose at one bound to the front rank among the civilized nations of the world ; all her old dissensions between the North and the South were radically healed ; the alliance with Tibet was consolidated ; unprecedented impetus was given to the industrial expansion ; the army was re-organized under the supervision of Japanese and American officers. Though China was a member of the League of Nations, a petty border dispute

and patrol fight was construed as an act of war.

A Royal Proclamation was issued calling upon all loyal citizens to rally under the banner of the Empire. Mr. Keralasami Iyer holding the important position of Home Secretary for the Government of Madras, had the Proclamation translated in all the vernacular languages of Southern India, and issued an order to all Tahsildars, Revenue Inspectors, and Village Munsiffs for wide-spread distribution of the Proclamation. Realizing his official position, Mr. Iyer issued a supplementary Notification invoking the active help and co-operation of every citizen and villager in defence of the mother-land. The following extracts from the Notification are significant:—

"The Mongol hordes violated the express stipulations of the Treaty of Versailles in 1919, and the Rules and Ordinances of the League of Nations; they ravaged and pillaged many Burman towns, and are now in Mandalay, disregarding the ultimatums, and threats of reprisals of the great International League of Nations. The President of the United States

of America, as the executive head of the League, is moving heaven and earth to stop the Mongolian advance, and the ruthless occupation of Burman districts; and his bulls of international excommunication and economic boycott had been consigned to the waste-paper basket by the haughty military mandarins of China. If the armies of British India will not soon hurl back the invader beyond the Chinese frontier, the allied armies of the League will wipe out China from the face of the earth or demand heavy indemnities from the offending power.

"The horrible accounts published by Lala Nath and Pindi Das about the Tartar cruelties and abominations are fresh in our minds. From the brutal clutches of the enemy those two patriots have escaped from Mandalay Jail, and waded through an ocean of difficulties and dangers, passed through the Chinese trenches under various disguises, and safely reached our military camp.

"The Tartar always pillages and burns what he occupies. It is our solemn and sacred duty to check this avalanche of savages, and roll them back over mountain precipices,

or into the Bay of Bengal.........Be true to your fatherland. Do not listen to the syren voices of enemy Mendlesshons; spurn their secret offers of gold and silver. Remember that you are the worthy descendants of a nation of warriors. Forget not your brilliant past and still more brilliant future. Our Bharatavarsha, which was the cradle of human civilization, shall not become the footstool of Mongol bandits and pirates. Let every son of the soil, every citizen and villager, unsheathe his sword in defence of the land of his birth, his hearth and home; let him shoulder his rifle to drive back the savage invaders who are converting one of the fairest and the most beautiful provinces of India into an arid waste of desolation and ruin, full of craters, ditches, trenches, dug-outs and mud-holes. Oh! ye, sons of Aryavarta, the thief and robber is at your door, nay has entered the front yard: push him out into the gutters and the deep sea."

The Notification had a thrilling effect on the people. No paid recruiting agents or Cinema exhibitions were needed to rouse the patriotic enthusiasm of the people. Thousands

flocked daily to the recruiting depots, and voluntarily enlisted for fighting out the enemy. The old atmosphere of racial and political inferiority had given place to one of equality and fraternity ; and strong currents of liberty have moved the enthusiasm of the people. The feeling of fighting for a foreigner, for somebody's liberty, not his own, can never excite the popular imagination and stimulate the people to deeds of heroism. That one's own home is invaded, kith and kin ravished, and property looted, furnishes the strongest incentive for sacrificing one's life at the altar of the fatherland.

Mr. K. Iyer was highly gratified that his Notification, diffused broadcast throughout the length and the breadth of the country, had electrified the people ; and almost within a month after the publication of the proclamation and notification half a million citizens had voluntarily enlisted themselves in the army.

The following paragraphs from the Notifications of the Maharajahs of Travancore and Mysore are significant :—

" For more than three thousand years no

foreigner had ever dared to invade or enter the territories of Travancore. Even Tippu Sultan, if he was a foreigner at all, was driven back from the confines of our province. Few nations on earth could ever boast of having enjoyed freedom for such a length of time. It was only a century ago that my ancestors made a treaty by mutual consent whereby we pay a sum of eight lakhs to the British Government as annual premium against external aggression. Since the benign British Raj has handed over the administration of the country into the hands of my own countrymen five years ago subject to their general supervision and supreme direction, our blessed Aryavarta has entered into the comity of nations and taken her proper place in the civilized world under the aegis of Britain.

"As Padmanabha Dasa, or servant of our Lord Padmanabha of Travancore I have been administering the trust in accordance with the express wishes of my loyal subjects as declared in their elected popular assembly. Contentment and prosperity of my subjects has been my constant aim and goal. I

fervently appeal to all of my able-bodied subjects to enlist en bloc for the safety and existence of our motherland. I have unhesitatingly placed all the available resources of my State at the disposal of the Suzerain-Power. I feel sure that my appeal will find a hearty and enthusiastic response.

"As regards the sinews of war I have devised a plan for augmenting our resources by indenting upon the vast accumulated hoards of gold and silver stored behind our sacred Deity in our great temple at Trivandurm consisting of valuable presents made by devotees during the last few centuries. During these troublous times when our national existence is seriously threatened, and the safety of our temples is jeopardized, I cannot conceive of a more sacred, a more beneficent and useful object than that of dedicating and utilizing them for the purposes of the war..............."

* * *

"My Parliament has passed an Act for compulsory military service to which I have gladly given my assent. Mysore expects every man to do his duty. May the Divine

Mother Chamundesvari shower her choicest blessings on my subjects, reconcile them to the new situation, infuse new courage and valour into them, so as to enable them to play their part worthily in defence of the motherland ! The detestable and unspeakable Tartar must be driven out, bag and baggage from British India. Forty-seven years ago, the generous and magnanimous British rulers have restored the Kingdom of my ancestors to my revered father. No other nation, consumed with earth-hunger, could have acted so righteously as the British. It is our solemn, sacred and bounden duty for all of us to spare no pains in rolling back the enemy beyond the confines of Burmah. I call upon all my loyal and faithful subjects to invest every pie of their savings in War bonds; and every available man that Mysore could afford should be sent to the Front."

* * *

The Honourable Dewan Bahadur Keralasami Iyer recovered from his fits of deep mental concentration, and made himself ready to receive the Honourable Mr. Hopkinson, the Member for Anglo-Indian Affairs in the Assembly, who was waiting in

his motor at the portico of his bungalow.

"Good-morning, Mr. Hopkinson. Has the Premier received any later telegrams than what appeared in the morning papers?"

"Good-morning, Mr. Iyer," replied Mr. Hopkinson, "I have heard that our Patiala Brigades have pushed the enemy ten miles, and caught valuable booty including that stormy petrel Count Li Bing Twa. Heavy Artillery including four big guns of 70 miles range, has fallen to Patiala's share. Is that not enough for one day's work?"

"Thank God!" ejaculated Mr. Iyer "I really expected some such stunning blow would befall the enemy. Take these 'Khan Bahadur' cigars as a present for the good news. You are a terrible smoker I know. I am only an amateur in the line. I find that smoking does real good to our inside."

"I see you are preaching with the ardour of a neophyte the new cult of the fragrant weed," remarked Mr. Hopkinson.

"I suppose you will attend," enquired Mr. Iyer, "the emergent extraordinary session of our Legislative Assembly. The Premier

expects that there will be no defaulters. As regards the man-power and special vote of credit, he will make an important pronouncement. Tomorrow evening we have a Cabinet meeting when these questions will be preliminarily thrashed. I am also told there is a special communication from the Viceroy. Our Lord Cotton is an ideal Viceroy, every bit of him a constitutional democrat. The honoured name of Cotton is a name to conjure with in Indian circles. In those days of bureaucratic rule, an unbridgable gulf existed between your community and mine. You remember or I may tell you now, a Cotton, Sir Henry Cotton, had presided over one of our Congress sessions. What do you think of those wiseacres who predicted anarchy, cataclysm, and deluge to India when Home-rule was granted? Almost within five years what a wonderful, almost miraculous, change has been wrought in the country by the grant of Home-rule!"

"It is true that a show of opposition was kept up for some time," said Mr. Hopkinson "Some Mahomedans and Non-Brahmans adopted a dog-in-the-manger policy under the

encouragement of some members of my own community. They have seen the error of their ways. The world-forces were too strong for them. Their little mops would not push back the Atlantic of progressive development of human liberty. Some of us were greatly amused at their loud protestations of unfitness. We enjoyed the practical joke. You remember that the cry of 'British trade in danger' was proclaimed from house-tops. Why, your Home-rule Assembly or Parliament has not yet confiscated the European capital of 400 millions of pounds invested in India. There is a funny feature about these investments. Many of them as in my own case, have been earned in this country with the help of advances and loans from Presidency Banks which had Government money *i. e.*, the taxes paid by the people."

"You may turn the electric fan to your side Mr. Hopkinson, if you are uncomfortable," interrupted Mr. K. Iyer.

"No! Thank you. I am happy here," rejoined Mr. Hopkinson, "Electric punkah reminds me of those good old days when the

Viceroy and provincial Governors wasted lakhs of people's money by their annual retreat to the Hills. That fiction of better turn of work or more efficient work in the Hills is now an exploded myth. Now they remain in the plains and turn out infinitely better work than ever before."

"I have high regard for your candour and almost brutal frankness in expressing your opinions," said Mr. Iyer in a tone of admiration.

"I may tell you in confidence that some old members of my community won't agree with me in those matters," Mr. Hopkinson continued, "a few of them secretly dislike me. I care a fiddle-stick for those old fools. They dare not openly contradict me. Even in those days a few liberal-minded Europeans helped me much in spite of the social ostracism of my class. I remember a few names; I was then fully engaged and engrossed in the work of improving my plantations. I admit I was intensely selfish and did not care a pin for promoting the advancement of the country which fed me and made me rich. I am now making

amends for it. Don't you know that at the time of the general election last year, a lot of opposition was raised to my candidature by a few short-sighted fellows on the ground that I was out-and-out pro-Indian at heart."

"With all that, you had an easy walk-over" remarked Mr. Iyer—"As for non-Brahman fears, we have a non-Brahman as Premier, another as Finance Member, and a few others in the Cabinet. Why the majority in the Assemby are non-Brahmans. They have developed a fine system of political non-Brahman Associations in all the districts selecting suitable non-Brahmans and then controlling the elections. This is one good result of the non-Brahman movement. If it were not reactionary and anti-Indian in politics at first, no sane Brahman would have objected to such a healthy social movement. The leading ones have now seen the error of their ways and are now on the side of progress."

"We had a pleasant conversation on all matters under the sun including the long-range gun, Good morning, Mr. Smoking Iyer."

"I won't leave you so soon but for the fact I have some urgent papers to dispose of, some criminal appeals from convicts in jail, and a curious petition from a Hindu lady who wants me to search for her missing son and send him back home." Mr. Iyer continued smoking, and began to examine the papers placed before him by his private secretary. Mr. Arul Prakasam was a distinguished graduate of the Madras University. His book on "the theory of Trusteeship and Guardianship and the evils of foreign domination" has brought him international. reputation. His amiable manners, his sweet temper, and admirable tact were brought into requisition in his efficient discharge of his onerous duties as private secretary. Though he belonged to the Roman Catholic pursuasion, Mr. Iyer treated him as his brother and bosom friend, and used to tell him "you are reserved for something great."

One of the criminal appeals he was reading was sent by a life-long convict from the Central Jail. He was an old offender and had been a State guest for more than half a dozen times and convicted for long terms for

petty offences. He was a special favourite of the Police; and during the intervening periods of freedom when he was out of Jail in search of employment for satisfying his hunger, the Police would show marked attentions to him and take him under their wings. Though he was treated as a habitual offender, the inner man often prompted him to honest modes of living. Under the precious old system of bureaucratic rule his last sentence of rigorous imprisonment for ten years was passed for stealing a handful of rice in a fit of desperate hunger in a railway store-shed. The new humane laws and regulations that were passed by the Home Rule Administration for granting tickets-of-leave, handing over released convicts to Convicts' Relief Society and other philanthropic bodies, had no retrospective effect and could not apply to him. His petition to the Home Secretary was interesting reading :—

"I am a labourer eking out my miserable existence by working in the market and elsewhere. I have a wife and four children to maintain. When I do not get work, pressure of hunger and the miserable sight of

starving children have made me a criminal. When I was released from jail after my first conviction, the police arrested me when I was prowling about in streets in search of work, and had me convicted for some offence which I never committed. After I served out my second term, society shunned me; my heart was hardened. I became a moral wreck. Society has lost me, and I began to prey upon it. Is there no hope of salvation, no better social arrangement whereby hardened criminals would not be manufactured on such a large scale?

"I pray that your honour will be pleased to release me, and hundreds of other convicts like me who are equally anxious to serve in the army and drive out the invading plunderers from the country."

I remain,

Your Honour,

Your Obedient Petitioner,

ZILPAKARAN.

Mr. Arul Prakasam's suggestion for utilizing the services of convicts for prosecuting the war was cheerfully accepted by Mr. Iyer.

The Petition from the Hindu widow ran as follows :—

To,

The Hon. Dewan Bahadur
P. KERALASAMI IYER, M A., M.L., C.I E.
Member for Home Affairs,
Govt. of Madras,
Madras.

Sir,

Since the death of my revered husband who was a Swadeshi missionary in his time, I have been bringing up and educating my three sons. The eldest son is studying for M.A. examination ; the other two are studying for the Entrance Examination. Srinivasan, (for that was the name of my eldest son, though I call him by a pet darling name at home) was last seen exactly a month ago.

Like his father, he is a Swadeshi enthusiast for his age ; he would never wear any foreign cloth, or use any article made in any foreign country. He converted his younger brother to his own cult. He has never absented himself for a day from the house. He was wearing a gold watch and a gold

chain on his person. Some say he might have been robbed and murdered; others say that he might have been entrapped for the army; while a few surmise whether he might not have been interned for his views. I consulted some lawyers who happened to reside in my own street. They assure me that those days of foreign bureaucratic rule are gone when young men torn from their families, were taken to distant jails by the Police and interned for an indefinite period without any trial for purposes of alleged public safety. Where could there be any safety to the public by incessant Police raids, wholesale arrests, secret internments, and indefinite detentions? I have not obtained any clue about my son's whereabouts. I pray to you on my bended knees that you will order a searching enquiry and have him restored to the custody of his beloved mother.

Your Humble petitioner,

Padmambal.

On the above petition the Home Member passed orders that the petition should be forwarded to the Central Detective Bureau

with special instructions for deputing an experienced detective officer for investigation; and the Petitioner should be informed that no citizen is ever enrolled by force or fraud for the army; and that days of internment of young citizens, referred to by the Petitioner, belong to a by-gone age of bureaucratic rule; and only alien enemies, and their proved associates and comrades are now liable to be tried before a special Tribunal, and then interned if found guilty of associating with the enemies of the state; and a special detective officer has been deputed for investigating the cause of the disappearance of the Petitioner's son.

In the afternoon of the same day Mr. K. Iyer met the Premier in the office of the Central Bureau by appointment. "I have another piece of good news to you Mr. Iyer, said the Premier, "The enemy line from Ava down to Moulmein has been repeatedly harassed, and bombed by the Rajputana Army, and the forces of Kaparthula, Faridkot and Bahawalpur. Strong contingents from Hyderabad, and Mysore have joined the main Army marching from Rangoon. I

am informed that the Government of India have for the present declined the offers made by Australia and New Zealand. I feel sure that with God's help Burmah will be the great Chinese grave. Those Mongolian marauders after pillaging our towns have come to lay down their bones in the Sacred Land where Lord Indra reigned in all his glory on the banks of the Irrawadi.

"How is it you speak as in a recruiting meeting?" interrogated Mr. Iyer.

"I see you have not yet read the confidential memorandum sent from Calcutta with a special note by the Viceroy" replied the Premier, "We have practically hemmed in the Chinese army. One army from Akyab reinforced by many battalions from Assam is now approaching Dalat. The King of Siam, as you know, has placed all his forces at our disposal, as he does not wish to become a Chinese vassal. The Shan states are materially helping us."

"Let me look at the military map on the table," said Mr. Iyer, "you seem to have been recently consulting it. I have to re-

fresh my memory with your Akyabs and Dalats. I see, you have pinned the map in a number of places to show the advance of the invading army."

"I would rather say," interrupted the Premier, "I have put pins to show the progress of our armies of Resistance. You seem to think I am too optimistic. With our unlimited resources we are bound to succeed. In those days of bureaucratic rule, the nation was emasculated; the military talent latent in the country was not availed of; and the Arms Act happily repealed under the Home Rule regime made the people effiminate and utterly helpless even against the attacks of robbers and wild beasts. Now conditions have completely altered. The spirit of democracy pervades the Indian atmosphere. I sometimes fancy how excellent the condition of India would have been if she had been blessed with a continuous series of Ripons from 1880 till 1914."

"What could one Ripon do?" asked Mr. Iyer, "If he is surrounded and enveloped by myriads of sun-dried bureaucrats. Ilbert controversies would crush the liberal spirit of

Ripon. Morley's radicalism oozed out under the scorching fire of the India Office. That sturdy democrat who wrote on the Encyclopœdists and Cromwell, sang lullabies to India's children not to make themselves miserable by crying for the moon of representative institutions."

"I sometimes fancy" said the Premier, "India's position would have been infinitely better, and the last world war would have been curtailed by at least two years, if Mr. Gladstone had been induced, sometime between 1880 and 1885, to pay a visit to India. for studying and solving Indian problems on the spot accompanied by Morley."

"There is much virtue in that 'if'," expressed Mr. Iyer. "Why do you probe into the past? Oh! What a grotesque supposition! If it had been an accomplished fact, thirty years of bureaucratic mis-rule would have been saved to India. 'Honest John' should then have been Secretary of State for India instead of Kimberley."

"Morely was then" interrupted the Premier, "more robust and virile in his radicalism, younger by a quarter of a century. In

the case of most men with a few exceptions like Gladstone, as age increases and men become older, radicalism vanishes away; liberalism steps in, and becomes often merged into rank Toryism."

After indulging in such desultory conversation for sometime longer, the Premier looked at his watch, and informed his colleague that he had to receive an important deputation on some industrial matters shortly and it would be better if Mr. Iyer also was present.

As the Premier had seen some newspaper notices that Mr. Iyer was to preside at some recruiting meeting in the evening he had sent for him to receive the Deputation and then attend the meeting later on. Mr. Iyer informed the Premier that it was an Andhra deputation on behalf of a ship-building syndicate.

Meanwhile the Premier was engaged in reading some military despatches sent from the Military Bureau at Calcutta. The Hon. Mr. A. B. Gatro was the spokesman of the Deputation from Ganjam and Vizagapatam. The Directors of a newly-formed company formed the members of the Deputation.

"Good-evening, Sir, I have come to trouble you for a quarter of an hour," Mr. A. B. Gatro thus introduced himself to the Premier, "Not on my own account, but on behalf of a ship-building Company formed two months ago."

"May I know what you want from the Government?" asked the Premier.

After introducing the ten members of the Deputation to the Premier, Mr. A. B Gatro said that "the new Company required the fostering care of Government and some active encouragement and guaranteed concessions."

"Why have you not put all that in a memorandum and sent it in advance to me?" asked the Premier. "It is the usual practice to send copies of addresses and memorandums if any in advance so that the subject may be studied, and a proper reply be given. You have sufficient experience of public life; you ought to have guided the Directors as to the proper course to be adopted in such matters."

"We have formed a limited liability Company with a capital of five crores for build-

ing mercantile marine for coasting traffic plying along the coast." Mr. Gatro thus began to explain the venture in detail pointing out to the Premier that they wanted to break the monopoly of foreign Companies; their steamers would connect the coast ports with Rangoon and Calcutta, and the straits settlements; and all the leading Zamindars had invested large sums of money.

The Premier asked him the total amounts collected.

"Nearly two crores have been collected" Mr. Gatro continued, "We have placed orders for building eight vessels of 3,000 tons with Calcutta Steam-ship Building Company in Indian dockyards. In the next month we intend increasing the capital of our Company to ten crores. We want to work the Company on the lines of the Bombay Steam Navigation Company run by our Parsi magnates. I am the Managing Director of the Company. I may also tell you that I have joined the Prospecting Mining Syndicate lately formed in Salem for copper mines of Rukha Hills. I think you may remember an abortive attempt that was made in Tinne-

welly for running swadeshi steamers twenty years ago. It failed......"

"You need not rake up the past, Mr. Gatro" interrupted the Premier. "The causes of its failure are well-known to every Indian patriot. It was all under the old bureaucratic regime. What I would advise you is you must secure the services of practical business men well experienced in the line. There is no use of putting up mere enthusiasts in such enterprises. A successful lawyer is not necessarily a practical man of business in the mercantile line. Indent upon competent men from Calcutta or Bombay."

"Thank you Sir," said Mr. A. B. Gatro who felt that attack was levelled against him personally, "I may tell you Sir, that I am the only lawyer in the Board of Management. We are negotiating to secure the services of competent men from Calcutta. I look only to the financial side of the concern. I don't poke my nose into technical matters. The Government of Bombay has guaranteed interest on the capital, and has made other concessions and promises of preferential

treatment. We want your Government to give us similar encouragement and help. We do not want any undeserved favours. In all probability we shall not press so much for guaranteeing interest as for other concessions. We feel sure that we can stand on our own legs in spite of any fierce opposition from foreign Companies. Japan bids fair to become a formidable rival. As for the British Company, there is sufficient patriotic spirit in the country to prefer our company to any other long-established Company. We want you to give us a definite undertaking that no concessions should be given to the Japanese Companies to the detriment of swadeshi Companies."

"Again I remind you," interrupted the the Premier "that you are forgetting that India is ruled by a Home Rule Parliament. You have been too long under bureaucratic rule that you forget the change, brought about by the grant of Home Rule by the generous and liberty-loving people of Britain. In those days of foreign bureaucratic rule, the industrial prosperity of India meant only the promotion of British trade and British

manufacturing enterprise in India. If Anglo-Indian or British merchants prospered in their trade and munufacture in India, it meant only extra coolie work to Indian labourers, and huge profits made by such merchants did not remain in the country, but went out of the country to England or elsewhere. Take, for instance the case of gold-mining industry of Mysore. How was Mysore benefited thereby? After paying the labourers and workmen and some small royalty to the Government of Mysore (who sold their brithright for a mess of pottage) the major portion of gold found there sometimes amounting to twenty crores of rupees per annum, was taken out of Mysore and carried to Europe. Is this promoting the industrial development of the country? I wish rather that gold remained in the bowels of the earth, for the benefit of some future Indian mining syndicate whose profits would not go out of the country. In those days of bureaucratic rule, the Bombay Government gave some concessions by way of monopoly for manufacturing wood-pulp from the forests of North Malabar to a Company of

British merchants. The profits from such paper trade would not remain in the country. It is the same old story again with regard to the concessions granted to a mining syndicate by the Government of Burmah a decade ago."

Hon. Mr. K. Iyer intervened at this stage, and reminded Mr. Gatro that he once belonged to a school of practical politicians as they called themselves, who believed that European merchants trading in India were the benefactors of the people, and whether Mr. Gatro was prepared to recant such economic heresies now.

The Premier stopped the Home Member from further proceeding in the matter, as he feared that the conversation was taking a personal turn and that it might lead to unpleasant controversy.

"It is not proper," said the Premier, "that you should ask any member of the Deputation to recant any heresy here. You may do it in the Legislative Assembly. To resume the thread of our conversation, I would ask you to consider the jute trade of Bengal. It is unnecessary to multiply in-

stances. Mr. Gatro, I would advise the Deputation to send me a memorandum giving full details of your excellent enterprise in a few days. I will place it before the next Cabinet meeting. You may rest assured that in such patriotic enterprises you can count upon our active sympathy and encouragement."

Thereupon the Deputation thanked the Premier and withdrew. Mr. Iyer also hurried to the recruiting meeting, leaving the Premier to the company of despatch-boxes.

CHAPTER II

ALL ABOUT HOPKINSON.

The Honourable Mr. M. T. Hopkinson was a sincere friend of the Indian people. Whatever his views might have been before the grant of Home Rule, he loved the people as his own kith and kin when he came in close personal contact with the leading representatives of the country. His previous opinions or early impressions were based almost wholly on the character of the people with whom he had associated,—plantation coolies, and butlers, thannikarchis and masalchies; such impressions were confirmed by his reading newspapers conducted by Anglo-Indian merchants and exploiters. But a new vision had dawned upon him when he began to read regularly Indian newspapers edited by Indian patriots who often conducted them at a heavy personal sacrifice of their time and money. The more he moved intimately with the members of the Legislative Assembly, the more his admiration increased for their

genuine patriotism, and high moral character. Over the younger generation of his own community he exercised a profound influence and changed their angle of vision. But some of the older members who had spent a greater part of their lives under the old bureaucratic regime, regarded him as a renegade and political turncoat and Vicar of Bray. Whoever would be in power, Mr. Hopkinson regarded them as relics of a bygone age of Prussian aristocracy, and never troubled himself about their opinions and prejudices.

Mr. Hopkinson had no claims to high parentage. He was born fifty years ago of a family of petty grocers in one of the midland counties in England. He was the youngest of the three brothers; his eldest brother had settled himself as a hawker in an adjoining town; the other had joined a firm of hair-dressers in London, and enjoyed himself immensely in hair-cutting saloons in the metropolis without feeling any concern about the welfare of his younger brother who was struggling against poverty in his native town burdened with the care of an aged mother.

The young Hopkinson was actively on the look-out for some job in the neighbourhood; he was rather unlucky in the beginning; and later on he was somehow eking out a miserable existence by the sweat of his brow. His old mother used to tell him that her half-brother was in India rolling in wealth; and he ceased helping her after the death of his father. She had recently heard that he was now in London on leave; and it would be better for her son to go to him and seek his asssistance. With the help of his hair-dressing brother in London, Mr. Hopkinson procured the address of his rich uncle Mr. Topbridge who was staying on a flat in one of the suburbs of the capital. After introducing himself with a letter signed by his aged mother, he importuned his uncle to get him some situation or job in that rich country of palmyra trees, and elephants. He questioned his uncle whether it was true that Hindu mothers would throw their children to crocodiles in the Ganges for obtaining salvation, and whether Hindu devotees killed themselves before some huge religious car, and Hindu wives were often burnt with

their deceased husbands, and whether his uncle had witnessed such scenes. Mr. Topbridge merely nodded his head to such queries, and told him that it was a strange country half mediaeval in its institutions; and it was not so rich as some people fancied. Mr. Hopkinson was asked to see his uncle a few days later. Mr. Hopkinson saw some visiting cards of his uncle carelessly lying on the table with awe-inspiring titular appendages as the Hon. Mr. A. Y. Topbridge, I. C. S., C. I. E. He had not mustered sufficient courage to ask his uncle as to the mystic meaning imbedded in those titular additions to his name; he felt that it must be something terribly great to appropriate five or six letters of the English alphabet at the end of one's name; and it was not given to ordinary mortals to bear such heavy burdens.

During the second visit, Mr. Topbridge without assuming any airs of superiority, anxiously enquired about the welfare of his aged half-sister, expatiated on the difficulty of providing for a number of needy relations in a distant country, and finally explained the situation to his nephew:—

"You have not passed any examination either literary or otherwise. If you had been employed as a servant in the estate of some Lord or large landed proprietor, I would have easily got you some lucrative job in the Agricultural Department in my province. You have no such qualifications for being passed as an agricultural expert. You might have heard that I got a situation for one of my brothers-in-law in the Police Department as Assistant Superintendent of Police to start with; he is now alright, high up in the service. One of my nephews related through my own mother (you know my father after the death of my mother married your mother's mother or maternal grandmother) one of my nephews was appointed as Inspector of Salt and Abkari Department."

"May I know what is meant by Abkari and whether I am fit for it?" questioned Mr. Hopkinson interrupting his uncle.

"Never mind about the meaning of Abkari" the uncle angrily resumed the conversation, "You should not interrupt me in the middle when I am speaking. I never allowed it in India nor would I adopt a diffe-

rent method in this country. You seem to be curious about Abkari It is a department dealing in intoxicating liquors, arrack, toddy, ganja, bhang, etc."

"Please excuse me for interrupting you again. I do not understand those last words."

"You will understand them when you go to India," Mr. Topbridge continued. "For another nephew of mine I got him undergo training for six months in telegraphing; he is now one of the Telegraph Superintendents; he subsequently made up his knowledge in electricity and all that, after entering the department. For a distant relation of mine through my mother, I got him into the railway service. He had a fatal weakness for drinks, and got himself involved in debts. I tried my best to extricate him from the meshes of sowcars or professional money-lenders; but he was incorrigible; he still rots in the service without further promotion. You thus see I provided for nearly half a dozen of my relations. I may tell you once for all there are only four departments wherein high educational qualifications are

at a disadvantage or discount in getting entrance to them. They are (1) the Salt and Abkari, (2) the Police, (3) the Post and Telegraph, and (4) the Railway departments. Tell me which you would like to enter. Those departments too would have been flooded with natives if a high educational test were insisted upon. Practically we hold them as a preserve for our incapables and needy relations.

"Make your own choice. I shall not fetter your discretion. I can help you easily as I hold a high office. I feel I am morally bound to help you also. So long as my father was alive and was living with your mother, I was regularly sending monthly remittances for his maintenance without questioning his right to require a second wife in his old age. That was his look-out, I thought. I had no right to dictate to him as to how he should make himself comfortable, though after my mother's death, he left us all in the lurch and went over to your place of nativity and married your grandmother without giving any intimation of the same to any one of us.

"I have pardoned him for all that, and was maintaining him till his death, and sent fifty pounds to your mother on hearing of his death. It is all past. Make your own choice soon. I am going out again for India in the next month. I will book your passage too."

"Thank you very much, My mother is anxious to see you, but is too old to travel to London, and has no money, I am ashamed to add, to pay for the travelling expenses," said Mr. Hopkinson.

"She need not trouble herself to see me," said Mr. Topbridge, "I shall arrange to go to her village, and see her, and explain to her how I am going to help you and to start you in life."

"You spoke of some four departments reserved for unpassed men. Are the natives of India sufficiently educated to enter these departmrnts and turn out efficient work as required?" the nephew interrogated his uncle.

"You are wrong in saying that the four departments are reserved," replied his uncle. "The natives are adepts in passing examinations. The truth is we do not allow them to

occupy higher grades of service, and keep them practically reserved. If we were questioned in Councils or elsewhere we say 'that on grounds of efficiency it is expedient that the higher grades sheuld be reserved for Europeans and Anglo-Indians.' It is only a fiction kept up to shut their mouths. When once educated Babus and Brahmins are allowed to rise up in such services, there is no knowing where it will end. If it were not so, I would have held out no hopes to you. Have you made up your mind."

"I am sorry I do not like service at all," replied Mr. Hopkinson "The idea of service is distasteful to me. I have suffered sufficiently here by service under a hair-dresser. Can you not find out an independent mode of living for me?"

"I belong to the Indian Civil Service, the most distinguished, the most brilliant, the most efficient, the world has ever known. Your idea of service in this country is totally different from what European service means in India. It means there authority, power, prestige and credit and renown. If you do

not like service then, would you be a planter, a tea planter or a coffee planter?"

"To be a planter, would not capital be required?" questioned Mr. Hopkinson. "I must buy land. Where could I have the money to buy a big estate? If I had money I would remain here alone in my own country. It is unreasouable to indent on your kindness and kinship for such large enterprises. Am I a Lord owning a lot of world's goods?"

"You talk too much my dear boy," his uncle spoke in a bantering spirit. "You are fit to be elected a member of our Legislative Councils. Only such talking machines get into our Councils. All their resolutions and speeches end in smoke. We carry on the administration in our own way, undeterred by the loud noise of elected natives."

"I do not understand you. I know nothing about India. How could I be a planter without any land or capital, unless it be service under some planter?"

"We have our own methods of doing business in that country," said his uncle. It is easy to obtain lands on what is called

darkhast or application, by influence or otherwise. The next thing is to go to the leading bankers to secure a loan of a substantial sum of money on the security of those lands for working the plantation. A lot of money belonging to Government is lying idle there in the banks. With such initial capital, the plantation could be worked up with skill and energy. If it turns out a successful concern, the bank debt is paid; if otherwise, the planter leaves the estate for whatever is worth to the bank, and leaves India for good in search of fresh fields and pastures new."

"If what you say be true (not that I doubt it)," said Mr. Hopkinson, "hundreds of natives would try their hands at it, and become successful planters. There would be no room for any European enterprise"

"There you are mistaken, boy," his uncle replied. "The banks where Government moneys are deposited are in the hands of Europeans, who would not help generally any native speculator; further extensive lands could not easily be obtained on darkhast to natives without great influence.

You will learn all that when you go to India and become a planter yourself."

"I am much obliged to you. I shall try my best to deserve the trust reposed in me," said Mr. Hopkinson.

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After an uneventful voyage Mr. Topbridge and his nephew arrived at Madras. It was a great mortification to Mr. Topbridge to find that without his consent or knowledge he was degraded from the Secretariat and shunted on the wrong line of District Judges. In the Fort St. George Gazette of the previous week, he was posted to Dustipore as District and Sessions Judge. To all his representations the invariable reply was given that he was not degraded, but promoted on an increase of pay. When he pointed out that he had only a smattering of Criminal Law, and Criminal Procedure, and he was utterly ignorant of even the elements of the Civil Laws of the land, and he could not sit in judgment as appellate authority over the work of a very able body of District Munsiffs, and that even barrister civilians when appointed as District Judges, egregiously blundered in matters of

Civil Law and innumerable statutes of the Indian Legislature and conflicting interpretations of the various High Courts in India, Mr. Topbridge was peremptorily ordered to resume his charge at Dustipore and to reconcile himself to the prevailing system of recruiting Judicial officers from the members of the Indian Civil Service. In spite of the peremptory order, Mr. Topbridge prayed that he might be posted to Pidaripuram or Ayyamaracheri, as Dustipore was considered as a veritable penal settlement. He was informed that his request would be considered during the next shuffling of District Judges when a vacancy occurred. Mr. Topbridge was considered the protege of the Senior Member of the Executive Council who retired when Mr. Topbridge was in England on furlough leave. The new members had their own favourites, and it was no wonder that Mr. Topbridge who had no petticoat influence to lean upon, lost caste and prestige with the then existing Government.

On account of such unexpected misfortunes to his uncle, Mr. Hopkinson had to

stay with the District Judge at Dustipore for some months. However Mr. Topbridge exerted all his influence directly or indirectly through his civilian friends, and secured a plot of five hundred acres on darkhast at an annual nominal kist on Mahendra Hills and an advance of five hundred rupees per acre from a bank. Mr. Hopkinson worked with his indomitable energy, and perseverance, and made it a lucrative concern. Almost within a period of ten years, he discharged the debt due to the bank; and his coffee plantations were valued, on a modest estimate, at a sum of five lakhs of rupees. He became an important officer in various influential associations of planters, and on one occasion presided at a great Conference of United Planters of South India when as many as thirty-seven planters attended the Conference from various parts of the country.

Eight or nine years previous to his interview with Mr. Keralasami Iyer, he had received a circular from the Central European Association calling upon him to send substantial subscriptions periodically for safe-guarding the vested interests of European

planters and merchants as they would be seriously jeopardized by the grant of Home Rule to the Indian people. Till then, Mr. Hopkinson never troubled himself about politics. As he was getting circulars after circulars, memorandums after memorandums, he paid some attention to the study of Indian politics. Though he had often felt that the grant of Home Rule could never be prejudicial in the bst interests of the country, he thought it prudent to remain a silent contributor to the party funds, without running counter to the opinions of the majority of his country-men. It was only after the grant of Home Rule that he openly allied himself with the representatives of the people. Even in the first Legislative Assembly elected under the Home Rule Act, he got himself easily elected by the associations of European planters. On the second occasion during the last general election in 1926, the opposition to his candidature was feeble, and he was elected by a very large majority.

About the theores of polities or principles of democratic or responsible Government Mr. Hopkinson did not worry his mind; he

was a sound practical man of business; his worldly wisdom and shrewd commonsense (so uncommon wherever its possession is loudly proclaimed) guided him in summarily settling all bitter controversies on politics and religion; "Live and Let Live" was his motto and guide.

Mr. Tickling, one of the prominent officers of his political association sought an interview with him, and began to question his political honesty. Mr. Hopkinson was naturally irritated; and controlling his temper he asked the intruder to mind his own business, and not to impute motives to honest men who do their work conscientiously without fear of consequences.

A few days after, Mr. Sopson and Mr. Dombey sought an interview with Mr. Hopkinson on the political situation and sundry other matters.

"Mr. Hopkinson, we have come to you on an important mission" said Mr. Dombey as the spokesman of the two. "We are not satisfied with your working together with native members of the Legislative Assembly. Even to a superficial observer it is clear as

daylight that the British character of the administration is gone. Wherever you go, you find natives installed in high offices, some Pillai, Naidu or Iyengar rules the District or Taluq. Even the district administration is entrusted to natives. If you want anything to be done, or any favour to be shown, you are forced to seek the assistance of native officers. What we want you to do is to agitate for the re-institution of the Indian Civil Service Examinations in London, which had been abolished five years ago. Each province under the Home Rule Act now conducts its own Civil Service examinations. Ten years ago the natives in their Congresses and Conferences had been praying for simultaneous examinations in England and India. So let the examinations be held in London alone; then our monopoly would be restored. Both in the press and on the platform you had better organize an agitation for its restoration."

"My friends, it is impossible," said Mr. Hopkinson, "that the old status quo could be restored. It would be absolutely futile to agitate for its restoration. Even in the

interests of justice and fair-play it is not desirable that a few lakhs of white men should permanently lord it over 330 millions of coloured men. In their own country they want to be something. If they do not get high appointments in their own country, where are they to go? They cannot be always hewers of wood and drawers of water to the white races till eternity. The British democracy would not tolerate it for a moment. The present Premier of the British Imperial Parliament is the Leader of the Labour Party. How could such a staunch democrat be expected to favour an agitation born of prejudice and rooted in selfishness? Those days of bureaucratic monopoly are gone, gone for ever."

"We have not come here to hear a sermon from you, Sir," protested Mr. Dombey, "we are prepared to contribute a thousand rupees each for carrying on such an agitation. Does this offer savour of selfishness, Mr. Hopkinson."

"Certainly," rejoined Mr. Hopkinson. "You want to spend some money of your

own to secure some privileges for the exclusive benefit of your microscopic community to the detriment of the teeming millions of this land who had been dumb and voiceless in the past. I sincerely advise you to give up such mad projects. Pray, excuse me for being blunt. I trust you will not misunderstand my candour. In the present regime, our interests are amply safeguarded; I may say that the present Government is showing undue favour to our community. I have nothing to complain. Please find out some profitable way of utilizing your time and money instead of breaking your heads against the impregnable rock of the world-forces of liberty and democracy. Good-bye."

"We regret having come to a wrong quarter. We doubt whether you are a true Briton." Mr. Dombey and his friend departed, muttering those words.

After such unpleasant experiences with unwelcome interviewers, Mr. Hopkinson had no mind to send an early reply to a letter sent by a non-Brahman Deputation as it was called; he rather thought that the proper

person to be approached by such a Deputation was the non-Brahman Premier. He had some vague recollection that about a decade ago some non-Brahmans sought the help of the leading Anglo-Indian merchants and journalists in opposing the Home Rule League. It was only when the British Labour Party came into power that Self-Government was granted to India, as Home Rule for India was adopted as one of the principal planks in the programme of the Labour Party. Mr. Hopkinson could not divine the purpose why a Deputation of non-Brahmans, should wait upon him as if he were a Cabinet Minister. The words in the letter " Important political matter " were rather vague and indefinite. He would never consent to the formation of any clique or cabal in the Legislative Assembly, or enter into any conspiracy for getting special privileges or concessions for his community. No doubt, there are fools and bigots in his community like Mr. Tickling or Mr. Sopson; but they formed a small minority; the majority have reconciled themselves to the new situation; their attitude was one of

harmonious co-operation with the accredited representatives of the Indian people. However, there was no harm in consenting to receive the Deputation; he sent a formal reply fixing a time for the Deputation.

Half a dozen Indians clad in the European style with boots and trousers entered the bungalow at the appointed hour, and cordially greeted Mr. Hopkinson when the members were severally introduced to him as Mr. Agnana Sundram Pillai, Mr. Muttalu Nayudu, Mr. Aviveka Chettiar, Mr. Moodathma Mudaliar, Mr. Poramai Nair, Mr. Kuruma Sahab; the names of all were new to him; and he had never heard of their existence in newspapers or otherwise. He felt that they might have hidden their light and public spirit under a bushel, and must have suddenly been fired with the ambition to consecrate their talents at the altar of their country, and become leaders of non-Brahman communities.

"May I know, gentlemen, the purpose of your joint visit? I am an ordinary and humble planter. In what way can I serve you?"

Mr. A. S. Pillai consulted with his friends, and especially with Mr. A. Chettiar and informed him that they had come on a political mission. "Why are you beating about the bush? Why don't you come to the business on hand, if any?" asked Mr. Hopkinson.

"We have formed a *Grand non-Brahman League of the Dravidian India*. At present there are six members of the League who are all here. The non-Brahman movement that was started in 1916 became moribund after a few years, and was transformed into a Social and Religious Reform movement. It has joined the Brahmans, and secured the grant of Home Rule five years ago, as you know."

"I know all that, Sir, what do you want from me?" impatiently asked Mr. Hopkinson.

"I will come to that point presently," Mr. A. S. Pillai replied, "I request you to give us a patient hearing for a few minutes."

"Yes, certainly," was the reply of Mr. Hopkinson.

"The original leaders have become too old; a few of them died." Mr. A. S. Pillai continued. "I may also say that they have joined the Brahman camp. I do not say they treacherously acted. But after associating with Anglo-Indian leaders for some time, they said they found that the political and industrial interests of the Indian people and those of British and Anglo-Indian merchants and manufacturers were distinctly adverse; and there could be no hearty co-operation between such conflicting interests; and they openly declared that the grant of Home-Rule alone would cure all the evils and the disabilities that India was labouring under, and agitated for Home Rule like the Brahman Home-rulers. When captains desert their ships, what could sailors do? We want to step in, and sit at the helms and guide the ship of 45 millions of non-Brahmans. You might say that the present Premier is a non-Brahman. The truth is he has no real sympathy for the non-Brahmans."

"Why do you say so?" asked Mr. Hopkinson.

"We find so many Brahmans in the public service. The Premier does not remove them, and appoint non-Brahmans in their place. We have other grievances against the present Ministry."

"What are they please?"

"The members of the Deputation are all smarting under personal grievances," Mr. A. S. Pillai replied. "In my case the Premier had strictly enforced a rule that no unpassed candidate should be entertained in the public service. My son is 24 years old and is married, but did not pass any examination. The Premier would not exempt him from the rule. Mr. Muttalu Naidu wants to subscribe for some public charity in return for the title of Rao Bahadur. The Premier treated the offer with contempt. As for Mr. Poramai Nair, a Brahman clique prevented his being elected for Pidaripuram, they set up another non-Brahman candidate who is now the sitting member in the Legislative Assembly. So with the rest."

"Have you only personal grievances as the sole incentive for starting a non-Brahman Association with a grand name?

"Yes, Sir," Mr. Aviveka Chettiar replied, "All great movements have a similar origin if you probe into the annals of non-Brahman political agitation in this country. A tree should be judged by its fruits. At present we are not able to secure a following. Ten years ago the novelty of the thing had a fascination under bureaucratic rule. Our plan is to secure some big men, as our patrons and presidents. With that purpose we have come here to request you whether you are willing to be one of our vice-presidents."

"I respectfully decline that dubious honour," Mr. Hopkinson expressed in a mock-submissive tone. "Gentlemen, I sincerely advise you to throttle your infant association and give it a decent burial. Whatever be the origin of the first non-Brahman movement, it has set up a net-work of political associations in every taluq and town. Those political bodies exercise a tremendous influence over the elections. They run non-Brahman canditates for most of the constituencies; and against such a powerful backing, the Brahman candidate is nowhere, inasmuch as an over-

whelming majority of voters are non-Brahmans in almost every constituency. It might have been in by-gone days of bureaucratic rule that the Brahman officials, the Brahman vakils, and their clerks influenced the elections to the prejudice of the non-Brahman candidate. A net-work of non-Brahman associations in every district, has effectively checkmated such sinister influences of the wily Brahman electioneering Agent, in fact has completely cured the evil to the detriment of the Brahman candidate. Gentlemen, you do not know what you talk about; you seem to be novices, as it is; I think the Brahmans can make out a strong case for special privileges and for communal representation. You have not been able to get it as you wanted, even under bureaucratic rule. The remedy lies in your own hands. Good-bye."

The members of the Deputation, the founders of the Grand non-Brahman League of Dravidian India, returned home sadder and wiser men, and banished the idea from their minds.

After the departure of such undesirable

intruders on his valuable time, Mr. Hopkinson directed his attention to certain undisposed papers. The draft report of the select Committee on the "*Untouchable Class Relief Bill*" prepared by the Hon. Mr. Paramu Pillai and the Hon. Vedavilasam Chettiar and sent to him for his suggestions and alterations, remained on the table during the last one week, and he was also reminded that the time fixed for presenting the Select Committee's Report on the Bill was fast approaching, and no further delay should be made. Mr. Hopkinson had only common-sense to guide him, and never worried himself about legal technicalities and niceties. He however made some verbal alterations, and had the draft re-typed with his alterations marked in red pencil. He had his own misgivings in suggesting those alterations as to his competency to draft a new statute. Nevertheless he took a special delight in associating himself with a body of legal luminaries in enacting new statutes for the realm.

In a fit of penitent humility and legitimate pride in his own versatility, he would sometimes soliloquize thus :—

"Here is a case of a brother of a London hair-dresser legislating for forty-five millions of Indians! I never dreamt while I was in England that I would become such an opulent planter rolling in luxury and wealth, drawing cheques on his bankers for thousands and thousands of rupees. But for my uncle who lifted me up to this position,—alas! poor man, he died after his retirement,—he would have been a labourer living from hand to mouth in his native village. I must ever be grateful to India for having made me a man and a rich planter."

In the evening he met the Premier at the Indian Liberal Club and had a pleasant conversation with him. The Premier was only an occasional visitor to the Club; and Mr. Hopkinson made it a point to go to the Club at least twice a week for the purpose of meeting his Indian friends. When India was ruled by bureaucracy, the Indian and European communities stood wide apart with an ever-widening gulf between them. Sometimes a false sense of racial pride and prestige prevented a free social intercourse and mutual exchange of thoughts. But the in-

troduction of representative institutions acted as a steam-roller levelling all social distinctions based upon colour, caste and other accidental differences.

At the tea table, several toasts were drunk in honour of the heroes of the war, viz. Patiala, Kapurthala, Bikanir, Gwalior, Faridkot, Bahawalpur and Baroda and several other Ruling Princes and Chiefs.

"I think you will be glad to hear that I purchased the 'Evening Mail' said Mr. Hopkinson, addressing the Premier, "It was often a thorn on your side. I arranged the matter easily with the Dawsons through my solicitors in London. I am on the look-out for a competent editor. I think of indenting on Calcutta."

"I always regard a candid critic as a benefactor" said the Premier. "There are critics and critics of course. In a free country we ought not to burke any criticism. I rather wish you had not purchased it. You remember what odium was cast on a British Premier, during the German War on account of his supposed connection or control of the press. We should not give room

for some of our malevolent and spiteful critics to cavil at us for adopting German methods of press control. When you appoint a new editor, give him absolute discretion or *carte blanche* for criticising men and measures. If Hopkinson goes astray, he ought to be pilloried in his own paper. You had better give express instructions on the point."

"Certainly," said Mr. Hopkinson, "I will exercise no control over the policy of the paper. I purchased it only as a commercial concern. I shall also do another odd thing. I will ask the Editor at the time of my next election to oppose my candidature. That will be funny I think"

"At the last election the 'Mail' favoured your opponent. With all that, you secured a trumphant majority" intervened the Hon. Mr. Abu Bakr the Moslem Member representing Trichinopoly in the Legislative Assembly. Mr. Abu Bakr was a general favourite with the members of the Club. His sparkling wit, and ready repartees and his silent and unostentatious character had endeared him to all those with whom he

came in contact. Wherever Mr. Abu Bakr sat, members would crowd around him, provoke him to some controversial topic and indent on his inexhaustible resources of wit, humour and sarcasm. "I may be permitted to make a suggestion to Mr. Hopkinson." Mr. Abu Bakr continued. "He is Indian in politics, Indian in character, Indian in his ideals and sympathies and Indian in everything else except the mere accident of birth over which he had no control and about which his opinion or vote was not taken. Such being the case, I would ask him to discard his uncouth European dress, stiff cuffs and stiff collars and two tight bifurcated pillow covers for his legs. Let him adopt the Indian dress and an Indian name."

"I will do that later on when you give up your loose trousers," retorted Mr. Hopkinson.

"Pray tell us the latest news from the front. Have you received any later telegrams than what appears in the evening papers?" Mr. Bul-bul Iyengar interrogated the Premier, interrupting the passage-at-arms between the planting and the Moslem Member. Mr. Iyengar was always a peace-maker and he

delighted in holding the olive branch between two hotly-contesting parties. His favourite saying was often the butt of ridicule. "You are right Sir; he is right also, all from different stand-points. Both are right and both are wrong as I always say."

"While starting for the Club," answered the Premier, "I received a telegram from Calcutta that our forces advancing from Prome met the Chinese forces at Tungo, and separated the enemy forces from the Moulmein base after defeating them in a pitched battle near Tungoo inflicting heavy losses on the enemy. Thousands of Chinese corpses are now rolling in the plain south of the town."

"If the Mongolian hordes ever came to the Indian Liberal Club, Sir, what would you do?" queried Mr. Abu Bakr, "would you prosecute them for criminal trespass under the Indian Penal Code, or pass a vote of censure or want of confidence on them, or would you have them summarily expelled in accordance with the rules of the Club? Is land robbery an offence under the Code?"

"If you take a legal course or legal purgative, you will be alright, Mr. Abu Bakr, without such doubts," said a tall stout gentleman with a big lace turban on his head who went by the long name of Srinivasa Venkata Varada Bbuvaneswara Trilingeswara Varma. The old gentleman led a retired life after a stormy political career, and was a daily visitor to the Club."

"Yes, Mr. Longman with a tall name or reversing it, Mr. Tallman with a long name," rejoined Mr. Abu Bakr. "It is incessant purgatives that have lengthened you into a tall man. I will note your recipe for the benefit of posterity for the elongation of stature and appellation."

"Mr. Varma, why have you eschewed politics and taken to philosophy?" asked the Premier.

"It does not agree with his head and stomach. By taking to politics he would not add one cubit to his stature, Sir," retorted Mr. Abu Bakr.

"In the olden times, royal courts had licensed buffoons," Mr. Varma sagely remarked. "In these days the Indian Liberal

Club has a voluntary or unpaid unlicensed buffoon. I have done my bit in the political world. I must give place to younger men."

"Younger men have displaced him; and he makes a virtue of a necessity. He is an extinct volcano, a burnt candle, a cast-off nib, and a spent cartridge." Mr. Abu Bakr expressed with gusto.

"Never mind about the fool" said Mr. Varma. "I intend standing next time for the British Federal Parliament for representing my districts, if health permits."

"I shall add *Deo volunti*" Mr. Abu Bakr remarked. "If God be willing, if health permits, if circumstances favour it," Mr. Abu Bakr continued. "If funds are available for electioneering expenses, if active, energetic, and enthusiastic canvassing agents are procurable at a cheap rate, if a unanimous vote is given at a party caucus meeting in my favour, if there is no rival candidate opposing me, and if the predictions of the astrologer are also favourable, and if there is no legal impediment standing in the way of my contesting, I am determined to stand as candi-

date for being elected as the President of the United States of America, should it fall vacant within the next month."

Mr. Varma expressed disgust at the license allowed to a crazy old man, and he protested that the prevailing harmony, peace and goodwill at a social club should not be allowed to be disturbed by an old fool's wit running amuck; and his senile follies should not be permitted to encroach upon the precious time of respectable gentlemen and to make depredations on their honour, and dignity.

"You should not descend to abuse, Mr. Varma," the Premier stated as a mild protest, "It was only good-humoured fun. Mr. Abu Bakr has no spite against you or anybody else; his genial temperament sometimes leads him astray and to shoot far beyond the target. It is an amiable weakness. We meet here for convivial social intercourse. We should not convert it into a society for promoting strife and misunderstanding; much less should it be made a hot-bed of intrigue and conspiracy."

Meanwhile fresh arrivals of members talking, laughing and joking among them.

selves, dispelled the little clouds of unpleasantness in the atmosphere; and they all approached the Premier for the latest news from the front. After their thirst for the latest information had been gratified they seated themselves on the table opposite to the Premier. The chief of them was Mr, Daivata Prasad, the Zamindar Avisaripuram, the Soap King as he was familiarly called. The one next to him seated was Mr. Chilmasha Iyengar who had no ostensible means of livelihood, and who nevertheless called himself the Shrotriemdar of Sudukadu. The others were less noteworthy and to all intents and purposes unknown to fame or otherwise.

"May it please your washing Majesty," Mr. Abu Bakr opened the conversation with the new group, "How goes your soap trade?"

"Thank you, Mr. Baker, it is fast improving. I do not know whether you are really anxious about my trade. In all the ten factories under my management, the output has increased ten-fold, and twenty-fold; and if this progress continues for the

next two or three years, we may say we have captured the Indian market, driving out all competition and foreign importation."

"We have not come here to listen to market reports, trade returns and balance sheets," Mr. Abu Bakr expostulated to the Premier.

"Nor have we come here to listen to stale wit, and unbaked fun, Mr. Baker" was the uncharitable remark of a gentleman seated near the end of the table who had a newspaper in his hand trying to read it with the help of spectacles.

"Now that our Soap King is in our midst Mr. A. B. C. Pillai," Mr. Abu Bakr replied, "it is expedient you secure his active patronage. You sadly need a washing; your face is so greasy, buy a ton of soap from him, pure Swadeshi soap, not a foreign brand which has been ousted from the market.

"I never encroach upon your preserve," Mr. A. B. C. Pillai spoke somewhat angrily, pointing to the long table, "This table is intended for reading newspapers, in spite of the presence of the Premier. You may

display your jaded wit on the stage, dramatic or legislative. I will lodge an emphatic written protest to the Secretary tomorrow on the prostitution of the table."

"You began the offensive, Sir, pray tell us how a table will turn out a prostitute?" asked Mr. Abu Bakr, "I trust it is not due to the presence of the Premier. If one A. B. C. Pillai protests, I will set up one X. Y. Z. Pillai to lodge a written or typed protest against protest."

The Premier intervened and suggested to Mr. A. B. C. Pillai that he might go to one of those rooms, and read undisturbed by any noisy talk at the table. Mr. Chilmasha Iyengar joined issue with Mr. A. B. C. Pillai on the question whether the table was solely and exclusively intended for reading newspapers. "Every respectable gentleman is expected to read his newspapers at home," Mr. C. Iyengar continued, "Absolute paupers who cannot afford to subscribe for newspapers do not deserve to be members. I mean no offence to our Pillai; I state a general principle. To whomsoever the cap fits, let him wear it."

Mr. Hopkinson who had been keenly reading some documents given to him by the Premier, felt that matters were going too far and tried to pacify Mr. Pillai, and asked him to retire to the adjoining verandah.

Meanwhile Mr. Bul-bul Iyengar whose mind always moved in deep ruts of pacification, reconciliation, and amicable settlements, thought that the psychological moment had arrived for his intervention and appealed to the Premier to use his good offices in bringing about an amicable settlement between the contending parties; and also informed the Premier that out of hundreds of members who frequented the Club, only two persons, Mr. Varma and Mr. A. B. C. Pillai, did not relish Mr. Abu Bakr's jokes, and the rest revelled in his company even till 10 P. M.

"Alright, gentlemen, it is getting late for me," said Mr. A. B. C. Pillai leaving the hall "You may revel, sink or float in his rollicking company. I will resign my membership tomorrow."

Mr. Hopkinson explained to the Premier that such scenes were common, and Mr.

Pillai was a consumptive dyspeptic who had been a failure in life; almost every week Mr. Pillai would think of resigning and change his mind the next day when he ate fried almonds at the Club.

"What are you thinking of, my dear fellow?" Mr. Hopkinson asked Mr. Abu Bakr who was rather put out by the onslaughts of the two members.

"I am moralizing and mobilizing my wit Sir, revolving in my own mind lest it should come out and offend old fools with one foot in the grave," Mr. Abu Bakr continued. "Even in the Assembly I sometimes meet with the same impediment. The world is all shunted on the wrong line; often it is topsy-turvy, All men are conceited including yourself Sir, it is only a question of degree. Man's wit has not yet invented a thermometer to measure the degree of his conceit. I hope some Edison would find out one to measure human conceit and human folly."

"Enough of your sermonizing. First measure yourself before you presume to scan

the conceit of others" said Mr. Varma in a contemptous tone.

"I have measured myself often Sir, I am 5 feet 8 inches high and cannot soar to heaven like you" was the reply of Mr. Bakr.

"He is a jolly good fellow Mr. Varma," Mr. Hopkinson said. "He means no offence. Even under the greatest provocation I have never seen him lose his temper. His temperament is such that you cannot help it. How often was the whole Legislative Assembly convulsed with laughter by his sallies of wit. Our drooping spirits would often be roused by his salvoes of pungent humour."

"Have you finished Sir, with your catalogue of his performances, his sallies, salvoes, torpedoes of wit?" Mr. Varma continued his attack "I fear Sir, one of these days you will engage a poet-laureate to write an epic poem eulogising his exploits and perhaps vote even a statue for the buffoon."

"I do not like your tone Mr. Varma" the Premier protested,

"It is all fun, Sir, I have the skin of the rhinoceros to ignore the sting of such flies," was the calm reply of Mr. Abu Bakr.

As it was rather late, the Premier and Mr. Hopkinson left the premises after a few minutes' conversation about the next meeting of the Legislative Assembly.

CHAPTER III

THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

A special emergent session of the Legislative Assembly was held in the spacious Legislative Chamber christened in the name of Mrs. Besant, popularly known as Besant Hall in the first week of March 1927, when 230 honourable members were present; and 20 members were absent through unavoidable causes; special efforts were made by the Party Whips of both the parties to secure the largest attendance of members. The Premier Sir P. K. Pillai sat on the Front Bench along with his colleagues forming his Cabinet, while the Hon. Mr. Kiruku was the leader of the opposition, who sat on the Front Opposition Bench.

The evolution of the system of party government had some novel features in the Southern Presidency. Before the grant of Home-rule in 1922, the Brahmans and the majority of non-Brahmans called themselves as Home-rulers and Nationalists, while a strong minority of non-Brahmans under the

inspiration and guidance of the ruling party of Europeans and Anglo-Indians tried to oppose the grant of Home-rule styling themselves as anti-Home-Rulers, and boasted that they were true liberals and constitutional democrats who wanted to educate the people so as to befit them for representative or responsible government by progressive stages; they were nick-named as "Step-by-step Nationalists." After the grant of Home-rule, the first general election was held in the month of January 1923, when the elections were contested on Brahman and non-Brahman lines without any reference to political principles. The programme of the Home-rule or Nationalist party included free and compulsory education, emancipation and enfranchisement of women, wholesale removal of all disabilities of depressed or untouchable classes, state aid on a comprehensive scale to industrial enterprises, Hindu social and religious reform and State control or nationalisation of all Hindu religious and charitable endowments, the housing of the poor and the depressed, and several other measures of social reform. At

the time of the second General Election in 1926, the old Home-rulers were designated as Nationalist Liberals or simply Liberals while the old anti-Home-rule party called themselves at first as Progressive Liberals, and later on as Progressive Conservatives and then simply as Conservatives. At the time of the present session of the Legislative Assembly the two parties were known as Liberals and Conservatives, while the old political distinction of Brahman and non-Brahman was gradually obliterated by the influence of time and education. Almost every town had its own liberal and conservative associations, besides a non-Brahman association which devoted its attention almost exclusively to matters of social and religious reform, and ran its own non-Brahman candidate belonging to either party irrespective of the political creed of the candidate during the time of general election. The Conservatives opposed the introduction of compulsory education, enfranchisement of women, nationalisation of Hindu endowments and favoured gradual emancipation of depressed classes, non-interference with

social and religious matters; They opposed reforms in a word, and favoured a gradual elevation of the social condition of all classes depressed or otherwise, and opposed the payment of members which the Liberals advocated. In the Liberal Party, there were several distinct groups, the Radicals, the Socialists and Democrats. Sir P. K. Pillay, the Premier, exercised unbounded influence over all the sections of the Liberal Party. Out of 250 members of the Assembly, 40 members were Mahomedans, 50 were Brahmans, and 160 were non-Brahmans including Indian Christians. Most of the Moslem members were Liberals; some Brahman members were Conservatives, as well as many Non-Brahmans. The Premier had a majority of sixty.

The Premier selected the members of his Cabinet from among the Liberals irrespective of class or creed. The Hon. Mr. Paramu Pillai was the Chancellor of the Exchequer known also as the Minister for Finance. The Hon. Mr. Keralasami Iyer was the Minister for Home affairs. The Hon. Mr. Sabha Ranjitha Iyengar was the Minister for

war; the Hon. Mr. Salimulla was the Minister for Commerce, the Hon. Mr. Arul Volivu was the Minister for Industries; the Hon. Mr. Inayat Hussain was the Minister for Education; the Hon. Mr. Somayaji Pantulu was the Minister for Local Self-Government, and Hon. Mr. Vasudeva Pillai the Minister for the Depressed Classes. The Hon. Mr. Hopkinson was the Minister for Anglo-Indian Affairs without a seat in the Cabinet.

The Secretary announced that the assent of the Viceroy was given to the "Free and Compulsory Education Act" No. III of 1926; the Select Committee on the 'Untouchable Classes Relief Bill' has submitted its Report with a dissenting Minute; and assent of the Age of Consent Act has not yet been received. A long list of interpellations was then gone through; and the several members of the Government belonging to the various departments answered them. The following may be considered as specimens:—

The Hon. Mr. Kolbeck Iyer :—

No. (47). Has the attention of the Government been drawn to an article in the

'*MorningPatriot,*' dated 7th Feb. 1927, complaining of gross irregularities in the management of the Civil Jail in Madrs?

The Hon. Mr. Keralasami Iyer :—

The Government has already taken notice of the article in question. We deplore the irregularities complained against; a searching enquiry was made; and the Officer concerned has been summarily dismissed.

The Hon. Mr. Vedavilasa Chettiar :—

(85) Will the Government be pleased to state whether it is a fact that certain bathing ghats in Trichinopoly are sought to be set apart exclusively for the benefit of one particular community?

The Home Member replied that enquiries would be made by Government; and strict orders would be issued on the result of the enquiry and a Proclamation would be duly made in such areas for the purpose.

The Hon. Mr. Abu Bakr.

(174) Is the Government aware that there are no separate Secondary Schools for Muhammadan girls in the whole district of

Trichinopoly, and no separate College for Muhammadan girls in Vaniambadi ?

The Hon. Inayat Hussain.

Necessary steps will soon be taken for establishing educational institutions in the said towns. The Government regrets that the Divisional Officers of those towns have been negligent in the matter, and have been severely reprimanded for such a gross dereliction of duty.

The Hon. Mr. Kodalurivi Iyer.

(153) Will the Government be pleased to state whether it has purchased the South Indian Glass Factory in Vedaranyam, and if so with what object, and under what conditions ?

The Hon. Mr. Salimulla.

I have consulted my colleague Mr. Arul Volivu who is in charge of the portfolio for Industries. No such purchase was ever made or contemplated. The Proprietor of the Factory sought certain help in the shape of bonuses and patronage from the Government. We have resolved to help the con-

cern; the other details are under consideration.

The Hon. Mr. Suluk Bhattacharjee.

(287) Is the Government aware that Mangalore was bombed by Japanese Zeppelins causing great damage to the city. What steps have been taken to prevent such occurrences in the future?

The Hon. Mr. Sabha Ranjitha Iyengar.

I regret very much that the Hon. Member has not taken any pains to verify the truth of the information furnished to him. Mangalore was never bombed by any Zeppelin, Gotha or any aeroplane. Consequently there would be no damage to any property in Mangalore or elsewhere. From the latest information available, certain hostile æroplanes were seen last evening hovering over Bombay dropping some paper or something which fell into the sea. The aeroplanes were seen flying at a very high altitude, far beyond the reach of our anti-aircraft guns. Full details will be available tomorrow.

The Hon. Mr. Anantha Padmanabha Pillai.

(299) Is it a fact that the Government

refused to render any help to the South Indian Chocolate Factory Ltd., at Palamkotta and refused to publish the opinion of the Government Expert in certain matters of doubt relating to the Chocolate Industry? Will the Government be pleased to render all possible help to that infant industry?

The Hon. Mr. Arul Volivu.

When a Company was first formed for manufacturing Chocolate, from palmyra jaggery, our Industrial Bureau afforded ample facilities for its export to England, France and America, furnishing all available information procurable from British Consuls in America and France and British Trade Commissioner as to the markets where Indian chocolate would easily find a ready sale. The Government Expert after a full survey of the situation, made some valuable suggestions for developing the infant industry which are under the consideration of our Cabinet. Meanwhile pressure was brought to bear upon Government to send a copy of the Expert's report in advance to the Board of Directors of the Chocolate Factory, before the Cabinet formulated its decisions.

Delay was wrongly construed as refusal. No interpellation is necessary to induce a Home-rule Government to render all possible help to the infant industry.

Hon. A. P. Pillai.

Many thanks to the Minister for Industries, as his satisfactory reply was not of the old-bureaucratic type of 'yes' and 'no' in alternate permutations and combinations. (Cheers),

The Hon. Mr. Satapada Iyer.

(329) Will the Government be pleased to state whether it is a fact that two representatives of a syndicate of Indian merchants were detained as political suspects by the Government of British East Africa, and subsequently arrested and imprisoned in solitary cells and they were not allowed to send any communications to India?

The Premier :—The two commercial agents sent by the Indian syndicate of merchants of Cocanada mislaid or lost the passports given to them in India. The Government of British East Africa disbelieved the story of loss of passports and detained them as

political suspects. I forwarded their representations to me to the Government of India who immediately telegraphed to East Africa not to detain them, whereupon all the restrictions were promptly removed, and the Agents were given all facilities in furtherance of their work. From the latest cable received in Cocanada, I learn that they have forwarded their first order for certain articles of Indian manufacture. I do not think any further representations need be made in respect of the same. I have also been informed that the Government of East Africa have apologized to the gentlemen concerned,

The Hon. Mr. Satapada Iyer.

Under bureaucratic rule two Indian barristers were prevented from landing there. An Indian under the Home-rule Government can claim the privileges of *Civis Romanus Sum* and can effectively claim the protection of his Government.

The Speaker of the Legislative Assembly (Dewan Bahadur Samadhana Iyer)—I think such remarks do not arise out of the question or answer. The Hon. Member is not

justified in making such remarks after the elaborate statement of the Premier.

The Hon. Mr. Abdul Razak Maracair.

(333) Has the attention of Government been drawn to an article in the *Moslem Independent* dated 31st January 1927 on "Imperial Federation in relation to Afghanistan and Persia," and whether the allegations made therein about alien influence in Persia are true, and what steps are proposed to be taken by Government to counteract such sinister influences.

The Premier stated that such questions relating to the Foreign policy of Government of India are not within the province of this Legislative Assembly. If the Hon. Member is so disposed, he may address the Minister for Foreign affairs at Calcutta on the subject. When the interpellation was placed before me for orders, I at first thought of vetoing it without bringing it to the notice of the Assembly; but on further consideration I thought I would be creating a bad precedent to veto an interpellation of an honourable member on any ground. Ever since the

Legislative Assembly was constituted under the Home Rule Act, no interpellation was ever vetoed in this Assembly to the best of my recollection. We do not take refuge in the words "Detrimental to public interests," to stave off an inconvenient question as under the old bureaucratic rule. (Laughter.)

The Hon. Mr. Littleton.

(350) Will the Government be pleased to state whether it is the intention of Government to pass a Conscription Act for enforcing military service and whether it will be made applicable to European and Indian subjects alike.

The Hon. Mr. Sabaranjitha Iyengar.

I shall not anticipate the statement which will be made by the Premier on the present situation. The Government sees no reason for passing any Act for compulsory Military Service for the present.

The Hon. Mr. Tiyappan.

(353) Is it a fact that an outrageous attack was made on certain Tiya devotees by a gang of rowdies hired by the priests while the devotees were worshipping the deity at

the Siva shrine at Palghat? And what action was taken by the authorities in the matter to prevent such occurrences in the future?

The Hon. Mr. Vasudeva Pillai

It is true that such an outrageous attack was made by hired budmashes. On a complaint made by the aggrieved party, they were arrested and charge-sheeted before the local magistrate. The Priests of the temple were summarily dismissed and bound over for good behaviour for one year. The offenders were sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment. There was not sufficient evidence implicating the priests. "*The Untouchable Class Relief Bill*" when passed, will effectively prevent such lamentable occurrences. The Honourable member would remember a time when Tiyyas and Ezuvas were not even allowed to enter certain public streets. Under a democratic government such deplorable incidents should be things of the past.

The Hon. Mr. Pestonjee

(362) Will the Government be pleased to state whether they are prepared to construct

a Tower of Silence for purposes of Parsi cremation in the metropolis of Southern India, the Parsi Community undertaking to incur half the expenditure?

The Hon. Mr. Keralasami Iyer.

The application of the Hon. Member should have been made to the Corporation of Madras. If an application is made to Government setting forth the grounds on which it is based, the Government will consider the application, and forward it to the Municipal Corporation. I should think that an affluent community like the Parsis should be reluctant to seek the pecuniary help of the State in the observance of their religious rites.

After the interpellations were answered, the Premier rose and made a statement to the House on the Military situation. The following extracts are taken from his speech. He took three hours in delivering it. A greater portion of it was extempore; he had some typed sheets before him and a sheet of telegrams from the War Office at Calcutta. The latter portion of the speech was punctuated with applause and cheers. Almost at

the end of the peroration two enemy aeroplanes of Gotha type made a whistling sound over the heads of the honourable members, Nothing daunted, the Premier continued his speech. Hundreds of certain printed sheets or proclamations were dropped from the aeroplanes. The Serjeants picked up some and brought them to the members.

EXTRACTS:—

"A large majority of statesmen in the West fancied that the formation of a League of Nations abolished all future wars from the face of the earth. So soon after the last War, none of us expected that the Chinese would plunge the world into darkness and misery. The civilized world once again witnessed the horrible spectacle of a great Nation violating all the established canons of International Law, repudiating all the universally accepted rules of honour, morality, and humanity and without any ultimatum or formal declaration of war, they rushed like an avalanche through Bhamo and Kunlong, ravaged and sacked the garden cities of Burmah. The horrors of Belgium and Serbia are repeated in Burmah by the

Mongol hordes. Though we have been taken by surprise, we rallied our forces in different parts of the country. Our propaganda bureau has convinced the Shan States and Siam of the folly of making peace with a nation of refined savages, and polished robbers. Our faithful allies had an easy task in rallying the forces; and mustered a strong force and are now marching on Mandalay. Another valued Ruling Chief, the Maharaja of Kashmir had proved a friend indeed. A strong, valiant army of Himalayan heroes under his leadership has now landed in Akyab. Our forces in Lower Burmah are advancing from the South, their objective being Mandalay. They reached Tungoo, and drove the enemy to the North. The Ruling Chiefs of the Punjab have kept their armies intact in splendid condition, have either joined the Main Army marching from Rangoon, or have been harassing the enemy in various parts of the country. In this connection I would specially mention the Chiefs of Kapurthala, Patiala, Faridkot, Bahawalpur besides Bikanir, Alwar, Kishengerh from Rajputana. A big force is now mustering at a certain town in

Burmah under the leadership of the Chief of Jamnagar, our Prince Ranjitsingji. I am divulging no military secret when I say our forces hemmed in the Chinese Army scattered in Burmah. As our forces increase in numbers gradually, we would be narrowing the circle round the enemy. Without fear of contradiction I may say that Burmah will be the grave of the Chinese Army. It has been computed that the enemy must have been a million strong when they passed through Bhamo. The Chinese High Command would be soon disillusionized as to the strength of the Army needed for the conquest and occupation of India. The Chinese reverse and surrender in Burmah will be one of the most glorious chapters in the military history of the Hindusthan."

" We have not been idle in the South, and leave the work of defending our motherland to the heroes of the North. Till now we have despatched half a million men to the front; another half a million is undergoing training. We have resolved to raise and train one more million within a few months. Our Government is in daily communication with

the War Office in Calcutta as regards equipment and munitions. Japan has chosen to remain neutral. The Japanese troops will not help us. With heavy artillery, machine-guns, rifles and ammunition, our French allies in Saigon have materially assisted us. The Government of India have for the present declined the generous offer of the President of the United states to send half a million troops from America. We are able to stand on our own legs even without French help. After a few more months when our work is finished in Burmah we think of despatching to Europe five million troops from India. Our troops flushed with victory would render valuable service to our British benefactors, if there be any conflagration there."

"The financial burden devolving upon our shoulders in raising, equipping, and maintaining such a large military force as two millions, has been shared in by several princes, zamindars and mirasidars in this Presidency. Travancore, Cochin, Pudukotta, Banganapalle, Vizianagaram, Bobbili, Ramnad, Ettiapuram, Venkatagiri, Doddappanaikanur,

Telaprole and others too numerous to mention,—others not named by me at preset should not be offended in my omission to give a full catalogue which will duly appear in the Gazette,—all these Chiefs and Zamindars have borne more than half the share of the burden. I shall not anticipate the Minister for Finance when I say that we want to raise a further loan of two hundred crores in India and elsewhere for financing our forces in addition to the donation we had given to the Government of India towards their war expenses."

"The presence of modern Huns in the north-east corner of India would not deter us from pursuing our course in home legislation. The disabilities of the depressed classes amounting to nine millions should be removed once for all. We have done something in the past towards their amelioration. That disease, that cancer in the body politic should be wiped out and radically cured. "*The Untouchable Class Relief Bill*" will, we trust, bring the needed relief. The Select Committee has submitted its Report; the original Bill seems to have been consider-

ably altered in Committee; the Bill in its present form will again be translated and published in the Gazette, inviting public criticism. My friend and colleague Mr. Vasudeva Pillai will the pilot Bill in this Assembly. Another important measure *the Industrial Encouragement Bill* for safe-guarding our industrial interests, and substantially encouraging our nascent or infant industries and new industries that may be started, has not yet emerged from the Select Committee. The Deputation of cotton magnates representing thirty mill owners in Bellary, Tinnevelly, Virudupatti, Tiruppur and other cotton centres, has urged upon the Government to impose a duty on export of cotton as well as on import of piece-goods or manufactured cotton. We are now corresponding with the Government of Bombay as to the urgent necessity of imposing such duties in the interests of our cotton industries. It has been said that Lancashire merchants would seriously object to the imposition of such duties as it would practically prevent them from buying cotton from India, and exporting manufactured goods to our country.

Lancashire monopoly under bureaucratic rule has crippled India's resources. Against the protests of those selfish English merchants, people of India would also protest that they should be allowed to fashion their own economic life, and evolve their economic destiny unhampered by foreign competition. The scandalous favouritism shown to a small body of Lancashire cotton manufacturers by their bureaucratic kith and kin in India cannot be perpetuated or tolerated under a Home Rule Government. The Australians, the Canadians, and the South Africans, would make short shrift of any such claim if made by British merchants hampering their Colonial trade. Even Mr. Hopkins sympathizes with our claim for a free economic life."..."An emergent military measure, the Quasi-Voluntary Military Service Bill will be brought at tomorrow's sitting. After suspending rules of business the Bill should be passed at one sitting. As thousands are flocking daily to recruiting stations, we have not thought it necessary to introduce conscription. In almost every town recruiting meetings are held when hundreds volunteer

to serve in the army in defence of the mother-land. There is a slakening of effort in the villages, as the perils of the present situation are not fully appreciated there; so we intend enforcing a modified form of compulsion in rural tracts. We have classified villages under three heads;—Class A, B, and C, according to the population of the village. The Village Panchayets which we have organized last year under a fully elective system should assemble all male adults between the age of 20 and 35 and cast lots for selecting 100, 50, and 25 men for military service in the three classes of villages respectively. The men thus selected by the consent of the villagers should be sent to the nearest recruiting depot within three days from such selection for training; they are liable to military service on short notice. I admit that the idea is novel; and my colleague the Minister for War is entitled to the credit as he has suggested the idea to me. I have communicated it to the Government of India who cordially approved of it and recommended it to Bombay and Calcutta."

"Another small measure, an amending

bill, will also engage your attention. After the abolition of Indian Civil Service Examinations in London by a statute of the Imperial Government, we have organized a system of civil service examinations, and arranged the curriculum of studies suited to a Dravidian province. We want to amend the Civil Service Act No. 17 of 1923 with regard to the age limit. We propose to increase it from 22 to 25. The reasons for such a change are fully set forth in the Statement of Objects and Reasons published in the Gazette. It was a scandal under the old system that young boys of 22 and 23 years old should have been appointed as assistant Collectors who are allowed to lord it over experienced revenue officers of many years' standing and sit in judgment over their acts. I am tempted to remark that bureaucratic India was a land of grotesque anamolies and scandalous anochronisms."

"After reviewing briefly the present military situation, I have attempted to give you a rough sketch of our domestic legislation for the present session. With your

approval and consent we hope to add those acts to the statute-book."

"In conclusion I wish to offer a few remarks for the serious consideration of all the members of this Assembly irrespective of party considerations. Though I fear I have been perhaps a little optimistic in describing Burma as "the grave of the Chinese Army," I do not wish that members of this Assembly should return to their constituencies with a light heart. You remember that the tocsin of alarm was first sounded in 1918 during the last German War on the collapse of Russia when the gates of Asia were thrown open for German penetration. "The German Menace in Central Asia" supplied the theme for many war politicians. That danger passed away. Now the Tartar hordes are in our midst. We must realize adequately the very serious danger that now threatens the place and the happiness and the fortunes of the historic land. After the invasion of Nadir Shah, we have been happily free from such horrors. The Mongol wants to sack Calcutta and march on Delhi. We should prevent it at all costs. With

God's help we shall roll back the enemy beyond the Mekhong river We owe a sacred duty to our motherland. If we are true to ourselves, true to the land of our birth, we shall not see her desecrated by any murderous marauder; we shall not see her soil besmirched with his dark deeds, blackened with his foul crimes, and tainted with his infernal abominations. If we are true to our national ideals, true to our national institutions, and national traditions, we shall not see her sacred soil polluted by the diabolical touch of a highway robber, we shall not see our holy Bharatavarsha profaned and poisoned by the loathsome touch of modern lepers of Asia. The religion of the Prince of Peace has become a mockery and a delusion with these brutal outcastes of Asia."

After the speech of the Premier, the Hon. Mr. Paramu Pillai, the Minister for Finance spoke for an hour on the financial situation and moved for a vote of credit for 200 crores of Rupees which was unanimously carried.

Thereupon the Hon. Mr. Sabaranjitha Iyengar, the War Minister, made a speech

asking for permission to bring in a Bill for quasi-voluntary military service, in the course of which he said :—

"The idea of conscription is foreign to our nature though the exigencies of the situation require it. I have therefore suggested a medium course whereby we can achieve our purpose and raise the necessary forces for combating the enemy. The Premier has explained to you the reasons which necessitated such a course. At present I shall not trouble the House with its wearisome details. The Bill will be brought in at tomorrow's sitting and passed in one sitting with your consent as an emergent war measure. If the scheme proposed in the Bill is properly worked—I have no reason to think otherwise—it has been computed more than one million men could be realised for the army excluding those of the urban population."

After the speech of the Minister for War, the Hon. Mr. Kiruku, the leader of the opposition, approved of the novel features of the Bill and congratulated the Government on having raised sufficient forces and materially

helped the Government of India and said: —

"We shall not violate the party truce that has been agreed upon during the continuance of the War. The Premier referred to the imminent collapse of the Chinese Army, its total defeat and surrender in the near future. It is a consummation devoutly to be wished. If the Mongol forces in Burmah were annihilated tomorrow by some divine visitation or by one stroke of our Premier's pen, I would heartily rejoice at the unexpected fortune and celebrate the triumph of our arms and offer public thanksgiving to the Almighty Moulder of Human Destinies. But the world, as I understand it, seems to be governed on other principles. The age of miracles is past. Strenuous persistent application, indomitable perseverance, unflinching faith and firm conviction in the justice of the cause, would alone ensure ultimate success. The Chinese are 400 millions and are hard fighters; they have an organised and well disciplined army led by Japanese Generals. But they are animated by mere lust for power, insatiable greed and self-aggrandizement, and passionate thirst for other men's

gold and silver. Napoleon I described the English people as a nation of shop-keepers. I would describe the Chinese as a nation of scheming opium-eaters. I would further say that the Germans of to-day are a nation of plundering robbers, and ruthless bandits. But we Indians claim to be the descendants of a nation of philosophers, as that great German scholar Max Muller said so long ago. Our soporific Vedanta philosophy has made us "*mild*" Hindus, ready to be reconciled to any new situation created by an adverse fate. But English education has broadened our vision, enlarged our outlook, opened new vistas of life, infused new ideals and hopes, widened our mental horizon of liberty and equality, and stimulated us to divert our national energy to fresh modes of national development and national regeneration. That is the reason why we are able to-day to cope with the enemy so successfully.

"As to the main provisions of the military bill, there could be no difference of opinion unless it is created and fostered by enemy's gold. I should not miss this opportunity of congratulating the Minister for War for his

daring originality in devising a scheme of conscription acceptable to the people in consonance with time-honoured traditions of the country. He has given the lie direct to the trite saying that the Brahman and War are poles apart. I have no doubt that the bill will meet with the unanimous acceptance of this House."

After the conclusion of the speech of the Leader of the Opposition, the Hon. Mr. Abu Bakr rose and made a short speech approving of the principles of the Bill. He said :—"Besides recording my vote for the Brahman Minister for War, I should like to draw the attention of the House to a deplorable accident, to an unexpected calamity that would have happened to the members of the House but for the kindness, the generosity and the humanity of our enemies. It has grieved me very much to find that the Premier, the Minister for Finance, the Minister for War, and even the Leader of the Opposition, all conspired to a vow of inhuman silence and did not even express formal thanks for the Mongolian generosity. I am nothing but grateful. Gratitude for

some mercy shown, is ingrained in my nature. So long as Mussalman blood runs in my veins, I shall ever be grateful to our Chinese friends (not enemies please for the present) for not having dropped bombs while their aeroplanes made tremendous music over our heads two hours ago. What would have happened to the Members of the House assembled in this chamber if a few bombs filled with the latest explosives of poisonous gas had been dropped on our heads? It is dreadful to contemplate; I shall not pursue this unpleasant theme any further. I fear that some of my honourable friends are getting nervous and excited over my discussion of the subject.

"Nevertheless, I shall supply this serious omission. On behalf of the members assembled here including the Speaker, I offer public thanks to the Tartar for having saved our lives today. I have a souvenir in remembrance of this great event in my life. It shall ever be treasured up as a sacred relic in the archives of my family for the benefit of my descendants yet unborn. I refer to a copy of the proclamation dropped by our

aerial masters during the close of the Premier's speech. As it is addressed to the people of India, I shall read some portions of it relevant to the matter under discussion:—

"The annual drain of 20 or 30 millions of pounds during one century has impoverished the people destroyed their staying and recuperative power, and increased their mortality to a terrible extent; and nearly 100 millions of the poor are living on one meal a day. India was one of the richest countries before the English came; now after a century and a half of British rule she is one of the poorest countries on earth, the average income per man being less than two pounds per annum."

"All your industries have been crippled and destroyed. Excise duties are imposed on your own manufactured goods for helping British trade. There is no liberty of speech and no liberty of the Press in British India. The Press Act, the Sedition Act, Deportation Regulations, and the Arms Act complete your political slavery."

"China will confer complete Home Rule, nay absolute independence on the people.

After driving out the British from India we promise that our troops will evacuate India and leave the people to shape their own destiny. China expects a free and Independent India to enter into commercial treaties with her for mutual benefit and advantage."

The Hon. Mr. Abu Bakr continued after reading it:—"These are the two important paragraphs in the Proclamation. Let us analyse their offer, scrutinise it with our eyes wide open, sift it with scrupulous care and precision, melt it in the crucible of our experience of our new patrons and feel grateful to our new friends and our guardian angels dropped from Heaven."

The Hon. Mr. Sabha Ranjitha Iyengar who was in charge of the measure closed up the debate by stating that "it was no doubt true that it was a fortunate circumstance that bombs were not thrown from the enemy aeroplanes along with proclamations; under the circumstances the enemy in trying to seduce us by honeyed words and unrealizable hopes, would not bomb us at this stage. In consultation with the Premier I shall organize a system of safeguarding our cities and towns

against future attacks of enemy aeroplanes." After congratulating the Honourable member for Trichinopoly for the excellent treat he had given the house, the Honourable member closed the debate, and the Bill was unanimously passed.

The Assembly was adjourned for the day.

CHAPTER IV

INTERVIEWS.

The Hon. Mr. Timbuctoo Littleton was an estimable figure in the commercial world. He could not boast of any liberal education in any British University, as the circumstances of his family necessitated his earning his daily bread by undertaking some job work in London. As it was with great difficulty that he made both ends meet,—be it said to his credit that he had sometimes gone through life on one meal a day not on account of his devotional adherence to any religious precept as to fasting, but through sheer want of certain jingling coins known as shillings and pence or legal tender in the realm; he made a strong mental affidavit that he must somehow secure his passage money, and seek his fortunes in that great El Dorado of India. After landing in India, he became apprenticed as a shop assistant, he worked his way, and almost within ten years, he was considered an expert in the-

cotton trade, became one of the well-known figures in society, sought the suffrages of his countrymen to record their vote for him in the Legislative Assembly, and was recognized as a champion of the vested interests of Anglo-Indian trade. He would wage a regular pitched battle consisting of a series of frontal attacks with or without out-flanking movements, whenever any attempt was made to injure or prejudically affect the vested rights of the trade of merchants belonging to the ruling caste. When responsible Government was established in the land, he was of deliberate opinion that the days of commercial and industrial exploitation had gone, and days of nepotism, special concessions, and undue preference of European trading firms, to the detriment of indigenous firms ready to supply to Government better goods at cheaper rates, those days of favouritism and preferential treatment that Mr. Littleton claimed for himself and his countrymen and their descendants born or domiciled in India on account of their birth and colour of their skin, became things of the past.

Mr. Littleton was mortified to learn that

a deputation of native mill-owners in the southern districts called upon the Premier to protect Indian trade and manufactures by imposing an export duty on cotton, and an import duty on manufactured cottons. He felt that native legislators would like to encourage indigenous trade and manufacture to the detriment of foreign trade even if it were British; it was his duty, he thought, that he should record his protest with the sitting European Member for Anglo-Indian affairs. On the question of conscription for war, he had put an interpellation in the Legislative Assembly which was satisfactorily answered; and on the next day of the sitting of the Legislative Assembly when the Quasi-Military Service Bill was passed, he had moved for a clause for exempting the Europeans resident in the Moffusal, as the Bill had no application for urban areas. As the Premier and Mr. Hopkinson were intimate friends, he thought that if he argued and convinced Mr. Hopkinson, he would easily secure some favour, concession or exemption. With such a laudable object, Mr. Littleton paid one of those pilgrimages

to the shrine of Mr. Hopkinson, and was closeted with him for an hour.

"You have no case, Mr. Littleton; practically you are out of court" protested Mr. Hopkinson. "The Indians want to improve their trade and industries; you want that British industries and commerce should flourish by enjoying a monopoly of cotton trade to the prejudice of Indian cotton trade. How could I argue with the Premier that he must sacrifice his country's interests for the benefit of the mill-owners and labourers of Lancashire? When the Indians had no responsible government, we managed those things as we pleased. The vote of sixty or seventy members of Parliament returned by Lancashire, exercised an undue influence on British politicians who sacrificed the interests of the dumb millions of India for the benefit of their countrymen. We have enjoyed a monopoly of Indian trade for two centuries. The prestige, the industrial and commercial greatness of Britain is partly due to our retention of India as our dependency or Milch-cow."

"You speak like a Congress-Wallah," Mr.

Littleton remarked, "Where there was anarchy, we restored peace and order. Where there was chronic misrule, we have introduced good and stable government. What more do they want? Should they not show us special concessions out of considerations of gratitude?"

"I admit they have been benefitted by our stable and strong government," Mr. Hopkinson replied. "But we have been equally benefitted. During our occupation, India's wealth has flooded our lands in a continuous stream for a century. England without India's wealth, would have been a second-rate or third-rate power. For performing Policeman's duties, we have been amply rewarded. Though we remained in the country so long, and pretended to educate the people for nearly a century, we find that more than 90 per cent of the population were illiterate under bureaucratic rule. When a leading Indian brought in a Bill for free and compulsory education in the old Legislative Council, we had it rejected by our official automatic machinery, pleading want of funds. Education should be the

first charge on the taxes paid by the people. When they pleaded for self-government for educating the people, and liberalizing and humanizing their institutions we turned round and argued in a circle that illiteracy was a bar to self-government."

"I am surprised at your plausible arguments," Mr. Littleton interrupted his friend, "you are silent on the innumerable advantages we conferred on the people unasked. In those olden days under native rule, it would take ten days to travel a distance of two hundred miles. Now we have introduced railways and telegraphs, and set up even wireless stations. What about our postal system?"

"You need not proceed any further in that line," Mr. Hopkinson replied, "In the time of Queen Elizabeth England had no railways; and even in the eighteenth century, we had only stage-coaches. As the world advances in civilization, new things are discovered in one country; and the rest of the world takes advantage of it, and is benefitted by such discoveries and inventions. We find a system of railways and telegraphs in Persia,

China and Japan. A great American, Edison, has invented the phonograph and gramaphone. Would it be a good ground for retaining the Philliphine Islands on account of the American introduction of gramaphones in those Islands? As you know, the Americans have introduced responsible government in the islands, promising them independence in the near future."

"I tell you, Sir, it is absolutely useless to argue on foreign analogies," said Mr. Littleton, "I always say analogy is no argument; it is only an aid to argument by way of illustration. Coming to the business on hand with regard to the threatened destruction of Lancashire trade, I say such a catastrophe should be averted. You remember the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme of constitutional reforms published in 1918 for public criticism; I mean, not the later scheme of reforms which were passed in the next year, yielding to noisy clamour, but in the first scheme, a Council of State with an official majority in the Supreme Council, the Grand Committee of the Provincial Council, the certificates of the Viceroy or a Provincial

Governor, would have amply safeguarded the interests of Lancashire, and would have effectually prevented the elective busybodies from imposing any duty on the export of cotton, or import of piecegoods, on the absurd plea of promoting nascent industries. Even Mill justifies the imposition of such protective duties. You remember that on account of the agitation of these talking patriots, the excellent scheme of reforms which was first published, with those effective safeguards for protecting British trade and manufactures, and retaining the British character of the administration viz., the Council of State, and the Grand Committee, and certificates of protection of imperial interests,—such a good scheme was altered out of shape beyond recognition, and a mutilated one was passed in 1919 deleting those safeguards, yielding to the shouts of the clamorous few and three years later the Labour party came into power and introduced these chaotic assemblies or Home-rule Parliaments as they call them."

"I wish, Mr. Littleton, that in your own interests you would not speak in such a

strain either here or in the Assembly or elsewhere," Mr. Hopkinson advised his friend. "Personally I do not wish to hear such strong sentiments begotton of racial pride and a spurious conception of patriotism. What is the use of raking up the past? It is true that Mr. Montagu wanted to have fully elected Councils with the power of the purse and control over the executive. But Lord Chelmsford and local satraps suggested Grand Committees and Council of State for retaining and preserving the power of the bureaucracy. The whole was mixed up and jumbled; the result was the first scheme calculated to strengthen the bureaucratic forces. It was knocked on the head. The Indian Deputation to London convinced the British Ministers of the dual character of the first scheme, how the supposed safe-guards or bureaucratic devices really vitiated the boon of popular government; What was given by one hand in response to popular aspirations was taken away with the other hand by a number of skilfully-devised expedients. Taxation without representation has been well declared to be robbery."

" Never mind, Sir, we need not waste our time by such academic discussions. Please tell me definitely whether you can do anything to prevent such legalised robberies. For more than a century English mill-owners have established a most valuable industry of manufactured goods. These little ones here want to destroy it. Would you, as an Englishman tolerate it ?" Mr. Littleton interrogated the Member for Anglo-Indian Affairs.

At this stage the Hon. Mr. Abu Bakr called at his bungalow, and Mr. Hopkinson warmly welcomed him.

" Mr. Abu Bakr, my friend fears you will all destroy English trade and manufactures by your laws. As you have fiscal autonomy, you try to impose protective duties on foreign articles. My friend desires that you should make an exception in favour of England which conferred the boon of representative government on the Indian people. Out of gratitude at least you should not seek to ruin our home manufactures. What do you say ?" Mr. Hopkinson appealed to his Moslem friend.

"I do not understand you," said Mr. Abu Bakr "when you say that Indians want to kill all English industries. We are not such cut-throats, Sir, such commercial murderers and industrial robbers. I assure you we are a law-abiding and peaceful nation. We never rob other nations of their liberties or manufactures. We never go to China claiming open door with sinister intent to exploit those lovers of opium."

"If Mr. Abu Bakr once begins to talk, there is no end. He would talk from China to Peru. I hear our Cabinet is contemplating a fiscal measure which would kill our cotton mills at home. An import duty on piece-goods and an export duty on cotton are sought to be levied with the ostensible object of protecting nascent industries," said Mr. Littleton.

"You speak of our cotton mills at home. Have you or do you own or run any cotton mill in Britain?" asked Mr. Abu Bakr.

"No, Mr. Abu Bakr, my firm is one of the most influential and leading firms in this city exporting cotton from India. You threaten

to levy a duty on it. Am I not interested?" asked Mr. Littleton in a pathetic tone.

"I see, you fear that your profits would be lessoned by such fiscal law," answered Mr. Abu Bakr. "Is it not more important that Indian industries should flourish, India should not be merely a dumping ground for raw products needed by England, and strenuous endeavours should be made by Indians to open new industries for our raw products? Foreign countries which had been trading with India for purpose of exploitation during the last one hundred years, and made themselves rich and prosperous, should now give India an opportunity to utilise her raw products in her new industries; and they should lose their enormous profits, and surrender their monopoly for the benefit of young India.

"A robber might as well argue that house-owners and merchants have become extra-ordinarily careful and arm themselves with revolvers and try to kill him and destroy his industry. If by such acts British merchants get less profits, the blame cannot be laid at our door. We make an honest attempt to

improve our commerce and industries. Why should Mr. Littleton or Count Von Humbug of Berlin get angry or lose his temper if Indians open more cotton mills and lessen the profits of the English merchants of Manchester, or German merchants of Hamburg."

"Mr. Abu Bakr, there is a limit to your liberties. You bracket me with the Humbugs of Hamburg," protested Mr. Littleton.

"Gentlemen, you must bury your hatchets, and sit at my tea table in peace and concord." Mr. Hopkinson invited his friends to take tea, "You must cease quarrelling about import duties, and export duties. Sip some tea and eat a bit of this svadeshi cake made by a local firm of enterprising graduates."

"Thank you, Mr. Hopkinson, I do not want those outlandish crude things called Swadeshi. If the cakes made by Messrs. D'Cruza and Llewellyn are available here, I would like to take it. Please excuse me for not taking those dirty,—perhaps it is a strong word,—nasty-looking things."

Mr. Abu Bakr retorted: "I now see the

real Littleton with his cart-loads of prejudices and whims; I now see the real Mr. Littleton with his little bundles of caprices and angularities and tons of eccentricities. I now see the real Mr. Littleton with his shipload of his racial vanities and eccentricities. He seems to hate all Swadeshi things, be it a cake, or a cloth. But he does not reject Swadeshi mutton, Swadeshi fish, Swadeshi milk, Swadeshi fruits, and Swadeshi water."

"Please stop your Swadeshi catalogue of necessaries of life," Mr. Hopkinson requested Mr. Abu Bakr. "You have misunderstood Mr. Littleton. It is not true that he hates all Swadeshi things. Your people are not well skilled in making cakes. You have not made a speciality of them, as we have done. That is all what he meant. Mr. Littleton, we have an engagement to go to Berkley Castle now. You know Count Li Bing Twa one of our Chinese prisoners is now staying in the Castle under military escort. The Viceroy has advised the Local Government not to keep any prisoners in coast towns for fear they might possibly send wireless telegrams and communicate military secrets.

So in a few days the Count would be sent to Ahmednagar or Yercaud. It appears he has a smattering of English. An Indian Professor who knows Chinese has promised to meet us there. Would you like to accompany us? The Home Secretary has granted us formal permission."

"I shall be happy to do so," Mr. Littleton replied after some hesitation.

Count Li Bing Twa accompained the Indian Expeditionary Force from Yunnan out of sentimental considerations. His literary countryman Chow Long has familiarised him with that great country of saints and philosophers. Many Chinese poets have sung hallelujahs of praise on the leading Indian dramatist Kalidasa about his Sakuntala. Philosophers found eternal consolation in the tenets of the Buddhistic philosophy of the East. Alexander the Great had a small contingent of scholars and historians when he invaded India. Count Li Bing Twa thought in his old age that in the historic invasion of India by the Mongols he might play a leading part in shaping the destinies of the land. When the Chinese forces entered Moulmein,

the Count fancied that the vision of Mongol India had dawned upon him, and he would offer a solemn thanksgiving on entering Delhi and Calcutta in a fortnight. Like other Chinese plans of military conquest, his programme of touring with the Army failed; it was slightly altered by the British Viceroy residing in Delhi. The Chinese Count was found deposited in Berkley Castle in Madras, while the Viceroy himself had gone to Calcutta. The Count had cultivated an inveterate hatred of Britain as a fine art. *Perish Albion* was his motto and watchword. While he was staying in Yunnan he did not contemplate the possibility of his being taken a prisoner by the British Indian Army. Though he had been warned at Ava by a Chinese General that it was not advisable that a civilian should march with the first Army of advance, the Count turned a deaf ear to such pusillanimous communications. He had written authority from Pekin to proceed with whatever army he thought fit, and it was womanly to recoil from the horrors of War. When he was informed by a military officer that his army was

retreating he was under the impression that it was only a manœuvre to entrap the enemy when two hours later he came to know that Patiala had surrounded his house, and that he was a prisoner in the hands of an Indian Chief. Great was his mortification to find that in his old age he should rely on the generosity and the mercy of his implacable foes. He recollected that in some of the military engagements in Manchuria in the Russo-Japanese War, hundreds of prisoners were ordered to be slaughtered by military orders. He could not blot out of his mind that the British knew that Count Li Bing Twa was one of their deadliest enemies; and as such, he might be subjected to indignities and insults; he was disarmed, and kept under very strict control. It was only after he remained for a week at Berkley Castle, truth dawned upon him that the British were a nation of chivalrous gentlemen. When he found that all his comforts were scrupulously attended to and news-papers were regularly supplied to him and the Home Secretary in Madras, a Brahman to boot, was unusually kind and generous, he wrote a letter to the Viceroy expressing his deep-felt and sincere

thanks for the treatment accorded to him. Though his request to the Viceroy that he should be kept in Berkley Castle alone and not transferred to an inland town where he could not get sea-breeze, was ignored in the order of transfer, he was ardently hoping for the day when he would be exchanged, and sent to Pekin.

"Good-morning, Court Li Bing Twa. We have come here to request you to allow us the pleasure of converstion with you," said Mr. Hopkinson, "We shall be happy to render you any service that you may be in need of, subject to military rules. We feel sure that the Home Secretary would have made the best arrangements possible. May we know your wants if any? The Hon. Mr. Littleton here is one of the recognised leaders of the European communities domiciled in this part of India. My friend the Hon. Mr. Abu Bakr is the leader of the Moslem communities in Southern India."

"Good-morning, gentlemen, I am thrice happy to meet you all," the Count responded, "And cultivate your acquantance during my involuntary sojourn in your midst. It was

very kind of you to have taken the trouble for ascertaining my wants and grievances. Happily I have none. I am treated here as His Majesty's Special Ambassador and Plenipotentiary though I came to India in an unattached capacity somewhat like a newspaper reporter. My notes along with other papers of mine have been seized on the day of my arrest. In my recent petition to the Viceroy I have demanded that all my papers should be returned to me. I assure you I have no military secrets to convey to my government. I am old. It is true I hated the British with an intense passion beyond all reasonable bounds. I must confess it. Now by personal contact I think I have to revise my opinions. However that is a matter of time."

"May I know, Sir, why China has launched the world again in a bloody war without seeking the intervention of the Grand League of Nations?" asked Mr. Abu Bakr.

The Count replied that it was for the expansion of trade with intent to oust the European from the Indian market, and

emphasised it by saying :—"It was with that object that we have invaded India. We now find to our infinite regret that India under Home-rule government is impregnable, would roll back any invading force into abysmal depths."

"Don't you know, Count Li Bing Twa, that Home-rule India," intervened Mr. Hopkinson, "wants to become a great industrial nation. She is unwilling to send her raw products to England, China or any other foreign countries. She wants to utilise her raw products for the development of her own industries. If any new industries are opened by English merchants, the Indians complain that the profits made therein would go out of the country. They ardently wish that new industries should be started by Indians themselves, and no foreigner should be allowed to pretend that he was promoting the industries of the country by carrying away the profits out of the country."

"I should think it is a very narrow view," remarked Mr. Littleton.

"I put it to you in this way, Mr. Littleton." said Mr. Abu Bakr. "You will under-

stand it better. Suppose that the Germans had conquered England one hundred and fifty years ago, filled all the high offices by the Germans, set up many German factories in many English towns, and carried away all the profits to Germany. If after setting up German factories they informed any doubting Englishman that they were promoting English industries and commerce by floating German companies, and opening German factories, would you Mr. Littleton, as a patriotic Englishman, agree with those advocates of German trade and industries on British soil? Suppose a German told you, "You Littleton had better attend to agriculture, and supply Germany with raw products. She will do all the industrial work for you. If you are not satisfied with that, we who have been in possession of England for 150 years, shall organise new industries in England with your labour; we shall amply pay for your labour." I want Mr. Littleton to express his opinion candidly how he will regard such German expansion of their industries on the soil of another nation. Would it be equivalent to expansion

of British trade and industries? It is German capital, English soil, English labour, German profit not remaining in the country, but taken out to Berlin. The case is worse when there is no German capital brought from Germany, but English money, being the taxes paid by Englishmen remaining in banks officered by Germans."

"You need not labour the point, Mr. Abu Bakr. We have come to chat with our distinguished guest, not to quarrel among ourselves," Mr. Hopkinson remarked with intent to pacify his English friend who was fast qualifying himself for a serious altercation.

Mr. Littleton was really annoyed at such lucid statements of industrial exploitation of India. He even took it as a personal insult, and was revolving in his mind whether he should not leave them with that spiteful enemy who had the cool audacity to inform an Englishman to his face of his inveterate hatred of all that is English. But the soft words of his English friend turned away his wrath; he resolved not to take any part in the further discussion or conversation.

Count Li Bing Twa who was a shrewd observer understood the situation and remarked as a peace-offering:—"It is only natural, Mr. Littleton, that Indians, when their eyes are opened by liberal education should cherish ideals of independence in politics, trade and industries. Our genial frind of Islam would next honour me by another illustration. He would say, by analogy, that if France had been in possession of China for a century, the prosperity of French traders and French captains of industry on the Chinese soil would not necessarily mean the numerical and industrial expansion of the Chinese people. It is true that alien traders and manufacturers would carry away all their profits, and sometimes their capitals too to their fatherlands. The case would have been different if such alien traders had settled in the country, mixed up with the people, and become as it were, blended with them."

"It is quite true. I would say that a Chinese Daniel has come to Judgment." Mr. Abu Bakr remarked by way of approval.

"May I know the strength of your Army in Burmah?" asked Mr. Abu Bakr.

"I am very sorry," the Count replied, "that I cannot be a traitor to my fatherland. I cannot betray the secrets of my country. No doubt I am your prisoner. I will rather sacrifice my life than do any harm to my countrymen."

"It is true you should not betray your people." Mr. Abu Bakr said, "Is it not robbery if one man robs another of his properties or liberties? If one nation deliberately attempts to rob another great nation of its liberty, would such an act of international robbery be acceptable in the eyes of God. Such arguments would be acceptable only to really God-fearing men."

"I entirely accept your reasoning," the Count replied, "I would regard it as robbery if France were to conquer China. But in politics we are guided by considerations of expediency, public policy, national existence, national expansion and consideration. In the sphere of world politics, the highest attainable good must be aimed and attained. We believed sincerely that diffusion of our Kultur

throughout the world would ennoble, and elevate the human race to a loftier, nobler, and more exalted ideal."

"Exactly so, Count Li Bing Twa," Mr. Abu Bakr interrupted. "A prosperous gang of refined robbers, with a special Kultur of their own for wholesale exploitation, indiscriminate pilfering, and promiscuous slaughter, might make continuous depredations on helpless villagers, and pretend to elevate them by their superior Kultur by depriving them of their properties, lives, and liberties. You must admit, Count Li Bing Twa, it is all earth-hunger, human greed and lust of power based upon superior physical strength, and possession of infernal instruments of human destruction. For Heaven's sake, do not refer to God or christen your robberies as divine dispensation."

Mr. Hopkinson intervened and complained that, whenever he opens up a new subject for the Count's attention, his Moslem friend would divert the conversation to his own channels, and sometimes run off at a tangent.

"Do you really think now, Count Li Bing Twa, that India would ever pass into Chinese

hands. Do you think that the Chinese forces would be allowed to remain long in Burmah ?" Mr. Hopkinson interrogated the Count.

He replied after some hesitation that for the present he had given up all such hopes, he might even state the opinion of one of their chief generals that their army was being surrounded on all sides, and their lines of communication were cut off, and the Shans were harrassing them on the East. The Count assured himself that he was not disclosing any military secret and all those facts given out by him would have already been known to his new friends.

"I want a photo or portrait of the Chinese President for hanging it upon the wall opposite to me," asked the Count.

"We are sorry we shall not oblige you in that direction" was the cool reply of Mr. Hopkinson.

"Have you any other wants ?" Mr. Abu Bakr asked the Count. "If you state them without feeling shy, we shall spare no pains to help you in all reasonable ways.

You must reconcile yourself to the new situation. We hear that a few thousand prisoners your Army has taken in Burmah have been removed to Tali and Li Kiang. As yet, we have not heard anything about them. In the last War, your military party behaved like savages in their treatment of French War prisoners. It would not of course be fair to hold you responsible for such dastardly acts. At any rate we would not descend to such barbarous depths. When we ask you to state your grievances, we do not intend that you should attempt to manufacture grievances real or imaginary or impossible. Leaving aside all minor ones, you have only one grievance, viz., you desire to be set free on your way to Pekin to worship the President alive and in flesh, not in a photo glass frame."

"I do not desire that you should be cutting jokes at an old man," was the mild protest of the Count.

"Our Muslim friend is a funny gentleman. You should not take it seriously. Are you allowed to have your constitutional walk in the evenings?" Mr. Hopkinson asked the Count.

"At present I am not allowed to go outside the compound of this building," the Count answered. "Its two gates are guarded by military sentries. Even in nights I see that sentries are posted on all sides. The authorities probably think I might run away. How would it be possible in this country which has no yellow population to roam unobserved in the streets? In European countries a prisoner of war might put on disguises, and fly away without being detected. All your seas are patrolled by your fleet. My escape is further impossible on account of my age. These unnecessary restrictions might be removed. Would you all recommend me for such concessions? I give my word of honour not to abuse my freedom."

"I am really sorry that we are helpless in the matter," Mr. Hopkinson replied to the Count. "Such matters are under military authorities. The Local Government simply carries out the instructions issued from the headquarters. Your Government is notorious for plighted word and breaches of promises. The rules of the Hague Convention have been

thrown to the winds. I really regret that the word of a Tartar has no value or no market value in our world of honour. I should not mince matters, and must call a spade a spade. I should not give you any false hopes. I could promise this much to you. When all the Mongols are driven out of India you know the War would not end. Our troops would be sent elsewhere. Then I shall use my influence with our military officers, for sending you to a hill station where you will be allowed to roam about freely as you please. For the present we would ask you to suffer in silence. Wherever you may be taken, you can freely correspond with me. Here is my card."

"Many thanks for you. I shall leave the matter for the present," said the Count.

"I regret the day when I cherished the idea of accompanying our forces," the Count continued, "Without the least knowledge of the outside world, we gathered a large army.. I applied for special permission to join it which was readily granted with a caveat for my age. Cursed be the day when I joined it! I have foolishly placed a blot on my family

escutcheon. I can't wipe it away. Even if I am released, of what avail? The fact would still remain :—I was taken a prisoner by an Indian Chief and carried to Southern India and kept as a prisoner. Oh! Heavens! What have I done to merit this indelible disgrace? I have sounded the depths of glory and honour. To-day I have fallen, fallen from high estate."

The Count broke down and burst into tears. Mr. Hopkinson tried his best to pacify him, and asked him to have trust in God. The Count finally thanked them for the interview and went to his bedroom to find relief in tears.

Mr. Hopkinson thanked the Indian Professor for having translated the Chinese speeches or sentences of the Count, and gently hinted to Mr. H. Littleton that he should not be so sensitive on such impersonal matters as Indian industrial expansion and development of new industries, and, as Mr. Abu Bakr was, at a little distance from him, engaged with the Indian Professor, Mr. Hopkinson reminded Mr. Littleton that India was the land of their birth and it was but right that the

Indians should desire to improve their trade and their resources.

"Don't you think Mr. Littleton, that we are here as birds of passage?" asked Mr. Hopkinson. "We have come to this country to earn our livelihood,—I put it to you point-blank,—we want to save money and take the hoarded gold to our own country. How can we pretend that we are the benefactors of the people, that we have come here on a philanthropic mission? As god-fearing men, can we honestly say that we are better guardians of the masses than the educated Indians who are their own countrymen, who are in touch with them in their own language, understand their wants and grievances, sympathize with them in their troubles, bound together by indissoluble ties of race, religion, and kinship?"

Mr. Littleton replied in disgust that he had heard such arguments *ad nauseam*, and that in the old bureaucratic days, there waa a plethora of such sophistic platitudes and he was sick of them.

"You call them sophistic, platitudes," Mr. Hopkinson expressed in surprise.

"Wherein lies the sophism? Is it a fallacy to argue that an Indian should be patriotic, and show his love for the land of his birth by improving its industries without allowing foreigners to exploit them and carry away the produce or profits to another country. Please remember Mr. Abu Bakr's analogy of the German occupation of England for a century, and exploitation of English trade and industries for the benefit of Germans, and silencing the natives of England by sophistic platitudes."

Mr. Littleton expressed a little indignation that his friend loved all other countries than his own. Meanwhile Mr. Abu Bakr joined them, and asked his friend what he thought of the Count's breaking down in the end.

"It is only natural that one in his old age should have been unable to restrain his feelings. It was rather a pathetic scene. It is a great pity that he should have accompained these Mongol brutes," was the reply of Mr. Hopkinson.

"You seem to be affected by his tears," rejoined Mr. Abu Bakr "Please forget not

the tears, the flood of tears, of millions and millions of widows and mothers caused by the ravenous inroads made by the enemy in the present war. How many thousands have been rendered homeless and helpless in Burmah by these marauding Huns? The tears of the weak and the helpless undermine the thrones of Kaisers. The tears of an old fool who had been hating England for half a century and instilling the poison of Anglophobia in China should not have moved you at all. However it is a matter of temperament. *Au revoir* for the present. Abu Bakr will be happy to meet you at the club this day week."

Mr. Hopkinson nodded his assent and got into his car somewhat disturbed by the pathetic appeals of the Count.

CHAPTER V

Recruiting Activities—Urban.

A ruthless foreign invader, not bound by any laws, human or divine, has set his foot on the land, and seems to have secured a firm hold in the north-east of India. If his advance was not immediately checked, the whole of Northern India would become a desert. Indian patriotism was stimulated by foreign invasion to a very high degree; recruiting meetings were held in almost every town and village. Recruiting depots were filled to overflowing with young men who were desparately eager to face the enemy and throw him down into the Irravadi or the Bay of Bengal. Wildest enthusiasm prevailed in the principal recruiting centres. In Bengal, millions and millions of citizens were ready to enlist and serve in the army. Arrangements for training and equipping them had been made on an elaborate scale. Under the inspiration and patriotic guidance of Lord Gardener, the Governor of Bengal,

thousands flocked to the recruiting depots. In the Bannerjee Town Hall at Calcutta a recruiting meeting was held for enlisting the educated classes in the Army; as many as 25,000 young men joined the colours in one day. In Bombay the enthusiasm was not less keen or fervid. In the Mehta Hall, a mass meeting was held under the presidency of Lord Nevinson, the Governor of Bombay. Several honourable members of the local Legislative Assembly took part in the meeting and eloquently exhorted their countrymen to drive back the enemy from the confines of Indian. The people of Maharashtra,—the descendants of those fiery Mahratta warriors of old,—mustered strong at the recruiting stations. More than three millions had already joined the army; and the Mahratta leaders were vieing with one another to beat out the Bengali record of four millions. Rajputana was one seething cauldron of recruiting fervour. The descendants of the heroes of Rajasthan rallied strong under the banner of liberty in thousands and thousands. A strong force of Rajputs was incessantly harassing the enemy from the southern Burmah.

Lord Houton, the Governor of Madras was not less active than his compeers in Calcutta and Bombay. In every town and village recruiting meetings have been held. Already half a million of trained men had joined the Main Army; nearly another half a million were undergoing training. The Premier in consultation with the Governor was arranging for another million troops. The Quasi-voluntary Military Service Act was passed at one sitting of the Legislative Assembly. A grand public meeting was held in the Gokhale Hall in Madras under the presidency of the Hon. Mr. Sabharanjitha Iyengar, the Minister of War. The Hon. Mr. Parama Pillai the Minister for Finance, the Hon. Somayaji Pantulu Minister for local Self-Government, and the Hon. Mr. Inayat Hussain, the Minister for Education were announced to be speakers at the meeting. Messrs Lala Nath and Pindi Das, the Indian patriots, who had been imprisoned at Mandalay by the Chinese and had since escaped from the Mandalay jail, passed under various disguises, and finally reached Rangoon, were also expected to take part in

the meeting. Under the old bureaucratic regulations, the Gokhale Hall should not accommodate more than a thousand persons. The idea of using the Gokhale Hall for the meeting was given up; and a grand open air meeting on a temporarily erected platform North of the Fort was announced by short hand-bills, superseding the newspaper notices, More than 15,000 citizens assembled on the maidan. There was a long row of chairs and tables on either side of the platform for taking the names of those who were wiilling to serve the motherland. The earnestness, and enthusiasm displayed on the occasion was best evidenced by the thousands who flocked to the standard while the meeting was going on. The Hon. Mr. Sabharanjitha Iyengar opened the proceedings by a short speech in the course of which he said :—

"We must convince the enemy not by any lengthy speeches or resolutions passed at recruiting meetings, not by the number of loyal addresses presented at the foot of the British Throne, not even by the hundreds and thousands of our fighting men going to

the front, but by the stern resolve, the grim purpose, the fixed resolution, the unbending will, and unflinching devotion with which every citizen, every villager, nay, each and every one of us must be prepared to sacrifice our lives at the altar of our country for ensuring and safe-guarding our Holy Bharatavarsha, that her sacred soil shall not be polluted and contaminated by the putrid feet of the leathsome outcastes and bandits of Asia."

The Hon. Mr. Parama Pillai who followed him dwelt on the financial side of the question, and said:—"In the olden days of bureaucratic rule, it was proposed to make a gift of 100 million pounds to Britain though it was curious that the Dominions and other over-seas Colonies were receiving loans from the mother country and not making gifts. Only one-third of the loan was raised by war loan bonds though no limit was placed in the first instance. The Government fixed it in the next year at twenty million pounds. Now what do we find? In the last month alone the war loan bonds were taken in Madras to the extent of sixty

million pounds. It is one thing to fight or lend money for the sake of another man's liberty. It is quite different for protecting one's own liberty. As a self-governing Empire under British Suzerainty, our resources are unlimited. If circumstances necessitate it (which God forbid) we are prepared to levy a poll-tax of 5 or 10 pounds per head exempting of course the labouring population who would be too poor to pay the tax."

"As citizens, free citizens of liberty-loving Empire over which it is said the Sun never sets, we must do our duty, sanctify our lives by self-sacrifice, consecrate our talents in the service of the Mother, exalt our lives by deeds of heroism, fortify our liberties and privileges against external aggression, and teach the foreign intruder such a severe lesson that no further attempts will ever be made to encroach on our liberties for self-aggrandisement; no more wistful eyes of international robbers will be cast on India's shores."

The Hon. Mr. Inayat Hussain was the next speaker. He made a special appeal to the Moslem population, and drew a vivid

contrast between free enlistment and compulsory recruitment, pointing out the benefits of the quasi-voluntary Act that had lately been added to the statue book. He referred the audience to some dark episodes in the past history of bureaucratic rule and said :—

"Gentlemen, there was a time. it was about nine or ten years ago, when two leaders of Muhammedan communities were shut up, interned in Chindwara I think without trial. For four years they were so locked up in a town. We prayed, we begged, we wept that they might be released for presiding over our national deliberations. The whole Moslem population requested the then Viceroy that, if our two leaders had committed any offence against the laws of the land, they might be publicly tried, punished or hanged. In response to public agitation a Police officer went and asked them for a written undertaking that they would be loyal. They even consented and added that without prejudice to their adherence to Islam they would ever be loyal and law-abiding citizens ; yet they were not released. How could there be a whole-hearted and enthusias-

tic response from the Moslem citizens if their leaders are unjustly interned? Every Mussulman will do any act which is not prejudicial to his adherence to Islam. Now happily we enjoy responsible government without any such sore public grievance; our appeals to Moslem citizens are responded to with full enthusiasm. I have no doubt that Madras will send not merely two millions but four if necessary before the end of the year if our robber friends in Burmah choose to stay there till then. I feel sure they will find it too hot or too cold by the end of December. If our expectations are fulfilled we shall have one hundred thousand Mongols as our prisoners of war before October. It may be that we may not be destined to enjoy the salubrious climate of Chinese gardens; but we are sure that our enemies shall not be allowed to lounge in our gardens of Bengal. The climate of Ahmadabad or Yercaud will stimulate their overwrought brains and convince them of the stupendous folly of invading a vast country of 350 millions of free and self-governing citizens under the aegis of Britain. We will pro-

mise our new friends long leisure and rest in our internment stations."

The Hon. Mr. Somayaji Pantulu Garu spoke next. He said that the citizens of Andhra Desa were a spirited people; they would make short shrift of the Mongols wherever they met them whether on the banks of the Irrawadi or the Godaveri. He agreed with Mr. Inayat Hussain that Burmah would be recovered before the end of October, if not earlier. "I had an idea of printing proclamations in Chinese and dropping them by our æroplanes in enemy's lines, reminding those refined savages that India is the great Punyabhumi where Lord Buddha was born, and preached his religion of humanity, and that instead of meeting certain death, they might surrender, and be happy in India as involuntary guests till the end of the War. I may also tell you in confidence that I had such proclamations printed in Madras, and sent them to the Front. Before I sit down I express my great regret that half of our army sent to meet the enemy would return home without spilling Tartar blood on the sacred soil of India. You might have read in

the newspapers the proclamation of our beloved Viceroy Lord Cotton (enthusiastic cheers) warning the Chinese High Command that heavy retribution and reprisals would follow any wanton waste of our properties such as demolition of buildings, churches, mosques and temples. I am happy to inform you that since the meeting began more than 5,000 citizens have signed their names in recruiting applications." (Loud Applause.)

When the last speaker was about finishing his speech, the Hon. Mr. Abu Bakr came to the meeting and sat on the platform. After Mr. Somayaji Pantulu sat down, there was a tremendous uproar from the audience calling upon Mr. Abu Bakr to make a speech.

The Chairman requested him to say a few words to please the people; Mr. Abu Bakr said:—"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, in response to your persistent shouts I am asked to say a few words by way of encouragement. I say your patriotic heart is sound; no cardiac stimulant is necessary. I am no physician further; by meddling with it as a quack, licensed or unlicensed, I may disturb its normal action. Nevertheless

out of respect for the chair, I appeal to your patriotic instincts for enlisting in the Army to drive back all those enlightened butchers of Asia who came all the way from Pekin to Bhamo for spreading desolation and ruin wherever they went. Probably they have come to lay down their bones and take eternal rest for the spiritual elevation of their souls. I know that some corporations have no souls. It has been proved historically that the Mongolian Hun mediæval or modern, had no soul or conscience. It would be a noble task if in our contact with him we could put, thrust or infuse some soul or conscience, some definite principles of righteousness into those living corpses of China. I would have been killed the other day but for the kindness and mercy of the Tartar. They say the exception proves the rule. The other day some enemy æroplanes made tremendous music over our heads in the Legislative Assembly; they had thrown proclamations not bombs. By treading the Indrabhumi and the sacred soil of Aryavarta, the Tartar has been ennobled and humanized. Perhaps my friends on the platform Mr. Lala Nath and

Mr. Pindi Das would enlighten us on the point, viz., what influence does the Indian climate exert on the invading hordes? I shall leave it to be answered by our new friends."

The Chairman remarked that speechifying should be no hindrance to citizens signing the recruiting applications, and introduced Mr. Lala Nath to the audience in a few chosen words. Mr. Lala Nath on rising met with repeated rounds of applause, and said:— "Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, I want to say a few words to encourage recruiting. I am no orator or a hero of a hundred platforms. I have no typed, written or printed speech to read before you as some great honourables had done in those good old days of bureaucratic rule. I am a plain blunt man, often suffered for my candour at the hands of sun-dried bureaucrats who had no imagination or sympathy for suffering souls. In these days of happy home-rule I thought all my difficulties had ended. But fates have ordained otherwise. I had some urgent private business to go to Myitkyina in the northern part of Upper Burmah where I stayed in my nephew's house. In the next

day the Chinese surrounded the place. Fifty leading citizens including my humble self were taken prisoners; we had then no arms with us,; we protested we never offended the enemy. Nevertheless we were locked up in jail. The Commanding Officer told us that he would starve us for a week, and such starvation would do us immense good and make us speak the truth. I questioned him as to what truth he would like to extract from us. The Officer promised to honour us with his visit the next day. The officer was true to his word. We were all taken to our homes under military escort handcuffed and manacled; all our houses were searched; all our monies gold and silver and brass articles, and in fact all our valued moveables were removed, even currency notes were taken. Finally we were made to assemble in a certain place, our manacles being removed. The Officer issued his final orders: " You brutes if you do not pay 1,00,000 Rupees in a fortnight, we will burn the town and slaughter you all. That is my final order."

" Many of us thought it prudent to leave

the place, and run away to some other town or village which has not yet been cursed with Chinese occupation. Some of us were burdened with families, and could not easily leave the place. Further the sentries were placed all over the town. The migration began stealthily in nights when sentries would be drunk. We used to bribe them amply to get themselves drunk. Those citizens who had been rifled of all their wealth, depended on the charity of their poor neighbours. The appointed day came; the officer was chagrined to find that half the town was empty. Once again we were all placed under fetters and marched round the town in a triumphal procession. When some of us deviated from the line of advance he had prescribed for us, he would whip them with equal impartiality. I was twice whipped for such derelictions of duty. The scars remain on my back. The western part of the town consisted of thatched huts. In a fit of playfulness, the Chinese Officer his name was General or Colonel Li-mung Twang ordered that the thatched portion of the town should be set on fire as a lesson to stubborn

citizens. In spite of his frightfulness, I approached the General with my manacled feet, and informed him that nothing would be gained by such an act of incendiarism, and that the citizens were already terror-stricken. I got six stripes for such an act of impertinence. The General said that the people should be tamed to submission, lest they might give trouble when the Main Army advanced to Calcutta and Delhi. The western part of the town was burnt and reduced to ashes. The General and the military escort that remained with him in the town freely indented on our stores of wheat, ghee, milk and other eatables remaining with the people. In the next day the General issued an order that all the able-bodied adults between 20 and 40 years should be brought before him. It was a universal rule that the honour of fetters would accompany all such special attentions. In the evening more than 500 citizens who had not the fortune to run away were brought together, rather huddled up, some trembling with fear, others weeping, groaning and gnashing their teeth. An order was issued to march them forthwith

to another town—it was not named by the Officer,—about 20 miles distant from our place, for constructing and working in trenches. A few of them,—I think it was seven stalwart men,—showed some reluctance and wanted to represent some matters to the General. They were ordered to be brought separately and shot forthwith. There were no more representations. All trembled and marched to their destined place. On a subsequent night I learnt from a drunken sentry that the Chinese were retreating from some place, and the trenches were being constructed in anticipation of their retreat. I have been told that it was the usual practice to erect trenches every tenth mile as their Army advanced; for falling back in any mishap. Meanwhile I became accustomed to receive stripes even for slight faults as the Officer fancied; with the help of my drunken sentry, I twice tried to escape; but I was caught, and subjected to severe torture. I shudder and tremble to describe the tortures I had undergone. I think it would be indecent to describe them. Oh! Horrible! How have I survived those

abominations! The worst outrage is yet to come. On one afternoon nearly a hundred girls between 15 and 25 years, married and unmarried, were brought before the General. Their lamentations rent the air; they were tied together in twos and threes. They were ordered to be marched to the nearest railway station five miles away from the town and taken somewhere. The enemy had seized all the railway lines and constructed light railways too. There were some of my relations in that assembly of girls. I could not do anything to help them or save them. Two sturdy young fellows who happened to be related to some of the girls entrapped, wanted to approach the General with their hands lifted up to heaven; they were forthwith shot. As soon as their bodies fell to the ground, heaving groans and sobs were heard from the girls entrapped. When I witnessed such diabolical atrocities, I became terribly afraid, and never ventured to utter one word of protest for fear of losing my life; It is true then life had no charms for me and death had no terrors. Still I was consumed with one ambition. I must escape somehow

from their clutches, and inform my countrymen of the inhuman atrocities and murders committed by these barbarians. Muhammad of Ghazni, Ghori, Chenghiz Khan, Timur and Nadir Shah and the rest of the brood of invaders of India must be considered as philanthropists and humanitarians, when compared with these unscrupulous rascals who masquerade as Buddhists. Oh! the Chinese Kultur is devilish infernal abomination! I now recollect another atrocity on a young baby. In the house next to mine was a respectable family consisting of a father, his son, his daughter-in-law, and grand-child. The girl was handsome and beautiful. The old man had sought refuge somewhere, asking his son to take care of his wife and child. The old man suffered indignities of the worst type during the first few days of Chinese occupation when our houses were searched and looted. Two young Officers were patrolling our street with a number ruffians. Happening to see the daughter-in-law of my neighbour in the window, they knocked at his door. After the Chinese came to our town, we used to shut the outer doors of our

houses Her husband refused to open the door for some time when the door was forced open by the military ruffians; and the husband of the girl was immediately shot; and the girl clasping her child in her arms tried to escape to the room adjacent. The child was forcibly torn from her and horrible to relate, it was cut into two pieces in the abdomen. I will not narrate the outrage committed on that tender young girl of sixteen summers. Suffice it to state that some time after the military scoundrels had left the house, I with trembling hands and feet entered the desecrated house, and found her lying unconscious naked, and threw my cloth over her to cover her nudity. After picking up the trunk and the head of the deceased child in a basket, I had some water brought for her. As all my nephew's cattle had been removed, I could not get any milk. All my efforts to revive her proved fruitlesss. I had the mother and the child buried in their backyard. As there was a perfect terror to walk in a public street we gave up all ideas of funeral processions, and performance of religious rites; all our houses of worship

were closed; many of them were used as military barracks. All big mansions were appropriated by petty officers. The chief was politely addressed as General; he was not a fully-blown-up general. I was told he was an officer of the rank of Colonel. For such a humane act I was declared a criminal by the Military Court and sent to Mandalay Jail as a convict where I met Mr. Pindi Das who will narrate to you the adventures of our joint escape. At my trial before the Milltary Tribunal, I found one of the ruffians who had ravished and killed the girl was one of the Judges to sit in judgment over me. I was charged with having robbed my neighbour and allowed her to escape. I said I tried to give help to a dying girl who had been ravished by one of the Judges sitting there; I was convicted and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment and 12 stripes for insulting one of the Judges; my statement that the girl and child were buried was rejected as absurd. I was sent to the Criminal Jail in Mandalay. There I found that all the convicts who had been imprisoned under British Indian regime were released

and sent to do work at the Front for erecting wire entanglements and making trenches, I was told that the convicts became exemplary citizens under the disciplinary system of lashes, and in the Mongolian Penal Code I was told there were only two kinds of punishment; for the first offence 15 lashes were administered; a repetition of the offence was visited by 24 lashes; and for the third offence the offender was permanently relieved of all human miseries, and shot. In the Jail at Ava I found there were about 100 Burmans in solitary cells for political offences; and 254 convicts like myself for offences best known to the Military staff. I found Mr. Pindi Das rotting in a solitary cell for a month; and he was brought out one day, and tortured to disclose military secrets; he swore that he was not a military man, but only a journalist. Some of the convicts including myself corroborated the man tortured before us; his two ears were torn by a sharp instrument; and he was lashed to unconsciousness, profusely bleeding; however the punishment proved a blessing to him; his solitary punishment ceased; as a fellow con-

vict I had opportunities of mixing with him. Then it was we planned for escape under romantic circumstances. For several days we were arranging details. I shall leave the best of our adventures in his own hands. I shall not mar it by anticipation. In conclusion I thank you all, my dear countrymen, for having given me a patient hearing to my narrative. Before I resume my seat, I shall record my deliberate opinion based on personal experience and personal suffering that it is far better to commit suicide than to stay in a province over-run by the Chinese Army. I would rather wish that a great tidal wave would sweep over the country than it should fall into the hands of those invading Tartars. You may think that it is gross exaggeration. I assure you, with all my heart and with all my soul, that even by conscription you must collect a huge army of millions and deliver the country from these Mongolian pests" (Loud Applause).

The Chairman said :—" Gentlemen, before I request Mr. Pindi Das to tell us the rest of their thrilling narrative, I think you will be pleased to know the latest news from the

front. The Premier has sent me a copy of the telegrams he had received from the Calcutta War Office. We should all feel thankful to Providence for such good news. I shall read the telegrams to you :—

"Our Main Army advancing from Rangoon had driven the enemy from Tharawad, and occupied the town, inflicting heavy losses on the enemy. The prisoners taken till now number 12,000 men. Our Kashmir Forces under the brilliant leadership of the Maharaja of Kashmir has advanced to Shimyo, driving the enemy further north. A portion of our Sindh Army seized Thaz, an important strategic centre, and joined the Shan forces. Order thanksgiving ceremony in all temples, churches and mosques."

A later telegram adds "Meiktila will fall into our hands in a few days. Our grip over the enemy is becoming firmer and tighter. A thousand more prisoners were taken."

After reading the telegrams, the Chairman commented on them, and said :—

"Perhaps to some of us the full significance of the telegrams may not be plain

and easily understandable. As you know our garrisons there were at first unable to repel the onward rush of the invading army. Now we are able to turn the tables on the enemy. On the east, the south, the West, and the North, our forces have surrounded the Army at Mandalay and its neighbouring parts; if they are smashed in a pitched battle near the city, they have no means of escape except in the North. If they do not surrender, they must try to escape through Bhamo and Kunlong route. We have definitely closed those outlets for their escape. God willing, India will soon have the credit, the imperishable glory of having beaten single-handed the great Mongolian Power and destroyed its prestige and influence in Northern and Central Asia. Such a victory calculated to secure the applause of the civilised world, depends entirely on our joint exertions. It is all the more incumbent on us to send our second million troops trained to the Front to participate in the final glorious campaign. As it is already late I would request Mr. Pindi Das to be brief in his remarks to-day. We shall have

the pleasure of hearing Him and his friend at full length in the next meeting."

Mr. Pindi Das rose and said: "My friends, I have taken the hint from the chair and shall not tax your patience too long. I have accepted the suggestion made by a friend on this platform. Our romantic adventures, our painful experiences and the atrocious abominations perpetrated by the enemy in the lands under their military occupation will soon be translated and printed, and published as a booklet for the better diffusion of knowledge of Chinese atrocities. To begin my story, I am a journalist by profession, though a poor insignificant journalist, in Burmah. Twenty years ago I was a marked man, suffered at the hands of the Police, and was sentenced to imprisonment for five years for alleged sedition by our old bureaucratic masters. I was never disloyal in all my life. I always pleaded that India could obtain her political emancipation under the suzerainty of Britain alone. Nevertheless I was punished. In those days some Judges defined disaffection as want of affection. It was stated that

truth should not be spoken if it promoted disaffection. I shall not trouble you with the history of the long fight the Indian journalists carried against the serried ranks of bureaucracy; and they also passed a Press Act seventeen years ago whereby journalists were placed on a level with habitual offenders to be ou their good behaviour according to the whims and prejudices of the Magistrates and the Police, so that the Press was muzzled.—"

The Chairman interrupted the speaker to narrate his experience in Chinese Jails and his escape, and also remarked that all such odious Press Laws were abolished in the first year of Home Rule Parliament in 1922, and requested the speaker not to trouble himself about such antiquarian matters.

Mr. Pindi Das continued :—"The Chinese officers got some false information from some unscrupulous informers that I was one of the leaders of the Home Rule Party, and I had given a lot of trouble to my British masters and was often imprisoned for years by the British magistrates. On such slender foundation the Chinese Officer who was in military

occupation of Mandalay charged me for treason before a military Tribunal consisting of three young officers smoking, chatting and drinking liquor, who adjudged me guilty : and pending sentence of death, I was put in solitary confinement in Jail. My trial lasted five minutes. I knew not a word of what transpired ; when I was marched to jail in fetters, I learnt from my guide who had a smattering of English, that I was found guilty of treason on the ground that persons like myself whose antecedents were very bad under British rule, should not be allowed to roam at large with potentialities for mischief. For a long time I was imprisoned in a solitary cell. Those thrilling lines of Byron on the Prisoner of Chillon came to my mind often in my lonely captivity. I used to repeat the poem to myself often. In the third or fourth week of my solitary confinement, I became half insane, and refused to take the dirty food that was brought to me, black hard chuppattees. I threw them away. I was unconscious for many days. I do not know what was done to me, I was told I was brought out of my cell and whipped for

rousing me up to consciousness. I have still some marks of whipping on my back. When I recovered consciousness, I was brought out, and tortured to disclose military secrets. In utter despair I once said that I had one military secret in my bosom, *viz.*, there are twenty million of Indian soldiers to fight against the Chinese. When I was again lashed to furnish details, I said that Home-rule India was impregnable, and that even twenty million patriots would offer their services to fight out the invaders. When I said in feeble tones that it was only my opinion based on the soul-force of the Indian nation, the interpreter who was a Chinese Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Pekin, said there was no Chinese equivalent of soul-force and one must be coined. When they found that I had no military secret to disclose, the inhuman restrictions of solitary confinement and torture were removed! I was treated as a convict under sentence of death for treason, though no formal sentence had been pronounced by that farcical military tribunal. I was informed by the Military Superintendent of my jail who seems to

have been a junior officer in the Army, it was the intention of the Chinese High Command that, even after the whole of India was conquered by their forces, a military government would be set up for one or two decades to ensure the complete subjection of the people, as some martial races still remained in the land, and the British had foolishly granted self-government to the people, and implanted the poisonous ideas of liberty and democracy by a system of liberal education. They wanted, he said, to wean India from all such spurious weeds by stern resolute government for twenty or thirty years after complete subjugation of the country. When I pointed out to the officer that in the proclamations that were dropped from their æroplanes, definite promises of Home-rule and Independence were made, the officer laughed at my stupidity in taking those statements seriously when the obligations of signed treaties and conventions were not considered binding in national emergencies. The new Superintendent with whom I had such free conversation, was posted to jail superintendence only a month before my

escape. The previous man was a terrible fellow well nursed in military traditions and was sent to the Front. When I questioned my sympathetic Superintendent as to the strength of the Army which was considered adequate for the conquest of India, he answered me with some hesitation that an army of two millions was considered sufficient by the High Command and that one million troops were first sent to overrun Burmah and Northern India, and that another million would be sent later on. He said that he was born in Mukden, and educated in Tokyo University; after his military training he was called to the bar. Meanwhile he had to join the Army sent to Yunnans and when he came with the invading Army to India, he was transferred to the Superintendence of the Jail on some adverse report of his superior officer. I see from the looks of the Chairman that he thinks I am digressing. I state these facts to you with a deliberate purpose. The ultimate intentions of the Invaders should be well known to my countrymen. Their false promises of granting independence or even Home-rule should

not be believed by any sane and liberty-loving Indian. Under the present regime of self-government or Home-rule, call it whatever you like, we are thrice blessed under the supervising care and suzerainty of Britain; we are infinitely better off than even the Chinese people under republican rule. The infernal atrocities that are perpetrated under that rule should be duly advertised throughout the length and the breadth of the country. The Mongols are past masters in bribing and influencing the weak-minded and the unwary. I would positively say that India under the old bureaucratic rule was infinitely better off than the Chinese in their own country under Mandarin rule. At any stage the liberty-loving instincts of the British nation could be roused, and brought into play to do justice to India. Under Mongol rule it would be a hopeless and impossible task. So it was when the great Labour Party came into power, the boon of self-government was granted to India. I would say to my countrymen;—Beware of enemy machinations and bogus promises. My friend and I

stand here on this platform as living witnesses testifying to the dastardly cruelties, the diabolical atrocities perpetrated by the Tartar hordes in Burmah. As that sympathetic officer of the Mandalay Jail had disclosed to me, they intend to chastise the people with scorpions and venomous reptiles. I am absolutely certain that in Southern India the Chinese have no agents or emissaries; their secret subterraneous methods of espionage would be of no avail in India. In Burmah too they have miserably failed. By their glittering gold they tried to bribe some citizens; I should think that they have failed on the whole."

"I shall be very brief in narrating to you as to how I escaped from the Jail, Mr. Lala Nath and myself conspired together and discussed various plans of escape. Some of them were transparently silly; others were fraught with serious danger to ourselves. After arranging for some moneys to be sent to us stealthily by our friends in Rangoon, (only half of which has reached us) we secured a certain amount of influence over the scavenging section of the Jail. Daily

some of them would go out of the jail with night soil. We donned their dress in a lonely corner of the jail without the knowledge of the inmates; and carried two basket loads of refuse on our heads with a real scavenger superintending our work. The guards and sentries had been fully bribed on the previous day; and bottles of liquor had been presented to them on the ostensible ground that they should be lenient and tolerant if fruits and refreshments were brought into the jail. We passed the gates of the jail unobserved, we had arranged for change of raiment at a place half a mile distant from the jail. We passed for unsophisticated barbers; and, after a number of adventures, we reached Yamathen and afterwards Rangoon. We took a roundabout journey and reached the line on the seventh day, and narrated our bitter experiences to some of our countrymen; We addressed a recruiting meeting at Calcutta a week ago: and on seeing a newspaper report of the proceedings of the meeting, your estimable Minister for War sent us a cordial invitation to pay a visit to Madras. We are

here, we take this opportunity of publicly offering our sincere and heart-felt thanks to our genial host and friend, the Hon. Mr. Sabaranjitha Iyengar, who would be an ornament to any society, and whose presence would illumine and exalt any Sabha or assembly. I thank you all, Gentlemen for giving us a patient hearing at this late hour" (Loud Applause).

The Chairman wound up the proceedings by announcing that 12,546 citizens had given their names for enlisting in the Army.

CHAPTER VI

RECRUITING ACTIVITIES—RURAL.

The Village of Nalamur had many historical traditions. In the dim past buried in oblivion, the villagers had a system of parochial organization almost on republican lines: and the only link that connected it with the central monarchical authority was the periodical payment of a fixed amount of money as revenue kist; it was a self-contained unit, which elicited the admiration of foreign observers who had no hesitation in describing them as model republics.

Modern researches have proved that, from insciptions of copper-plates and numismatic evidence, some villages were grouped round city states organized on the old Greek republican model. Inveterate prejudice, racial pride, and blind political fury would still have it that the eastern races are unfit for the representative institutions. Nevertheless, truth which cannot be long suppressed by any gang of political writers for perpetua-

ting historical falsities and untruths, has now slowly dawned on the saner section that India can validly lay claim to an ancient civilization, and a system of ancient culture not inferior to that of ancient Greece or Rome. However persistent falsehood and crass ignorance have perpetuated the historic calumnies of Hindu systems of Government and their alleged incompatability with representative institutions. However the village organizations during the last one century or more, have crumbled under a heavy load of revenue regulations, and standing orders of the Boards of Revenue. When a system of representative institutions was introduced in name and reality after the passing of the Home-Rule Acts, the Village Panchayets or Councils of Five Elders were re-organised in Southern India by the Village Panchayets Act of 1926 on the model of Parish Councils of Britian. When the Legislative Assembly passed the Quasi-voluntary Military Service Act, and emergent circulars were issued from the Home Office to the Village Panchayets for enrolling men in the Army, the Village Panchayat of Nalamur held an urgent meet-

ing for convening the Village Assembly as required by the Military Service Act.

Mr. Nedunal Pillai was the Village Munsiff. From the remotest times within the recollection of the oldest inhabitants of the village his family had a sort of monopoly of the appointment of Village Munsif. His father had in his possession bundles of cadjan leaves, some parts torn, clearly showing that, even when Nawabs ruled over the land, his family was held responsible for the collection of revenue. Mr. Pillai's mind was duly oppressed with a sense of the historic greatness of his family. It was his one ambition to maintain the traditions of the family. He was fifty-two years old, his only son Narkira Pillai died of Cholera ten years ago. The idea of adoption was ever present in his mind; it had not yet materialized, and resulted in any definite proposals or action. When he first heard that the Chinese were invading India, and had seized Bhamo and Kunlong, he called an informal meeting of the leading men of the village, and consulted with them on problems

of military defence. and even suggested the feasibility of selecting at least one male adult from every family for military service as in times of old. They were not agreed as to the principles of selection. The matter was dropped.

Mr. Paramanandam Iyer was the village Kurnam or Accountant. He would handle the village accounts peimash or adangal, in the twinkling of an eye, and furnish the necessary information when required. When he helped some unscrupulous villagers in fabricating records, or manipulating evidence for purposes of civil or criminal courts, he was not to be blamed, as his love for glittering coins was at fault. In such cases he would take special care that it should not be brought to the notice of the Munsiff or any other members of the Village Punchayet.

Mr. Gosami Naidu was one of the elders of the village, and a member of the Punchayet. He held many acres of wet land in other villages and was joint-trustee or Dharmakarta of the village temple of the Mariyayi along with Mr. Nachi Narkinur Pillai. Mr. Naidu was a host in himself though the Village

Munsiff would scoff at him for his stale wit. Nevertheless the villagers would gather round him in the evenings and listen to him spell-bound whenever he harangued on Puranic stories. Further as the village school-master, he was in touch with the younger generation of the village. He exercised a profound influence on the villagers on matters of public importance. With the onrush of the Mongol forces in Burmah from town to town, most of the villagers believed that Rangoon would fall into the hands of the enemy. It was Mr. Gosami Naidu who stoutly maintained that the seat of the Capital might be removed to Calcutta for greater convenience, the Mongol would never set his foot on the historic Bharatavarsha. Nearly nine or ten subscribed to the daily edition of the Tamil newspaper, *the Dravidian Patriot*, the whole literate portion of the village would make it a point of reading it in the Kesava Pillai Reading Room in the village. When differences of opinion were acute among themselves, Mr. Naidu's services would be requisitioned, and his final opinion would settle the controversy, and create a

general consensus of opinion in the village on all matters of public or general interest.

Mr. Nachi Narkinur belonged to the old school in politics and religion. He had no faith in representative institutions anywhere in the East or the West. Though he was of deliberate opinion almost from his infancy that one-man-rule was the best for all men, coloured or colourless, he never protruded his old-fashioned theories and opinions before the other villagers at the meetings of the Panchayets or Village Assemblies. As he was often ridiculed for his ante-deluvian creed by Mr. Naidu and his coteries of young admirers, he chose to remain a silent voter in public matters. He had given up the unpleasant task of recording his dissenting minute, and relied on the safe maxim that the majority must rule over the minority. In many matters the minority consisted of his humble self.

Mr. Garuda Iyengar lived in one of the hamlets of the village. As a member of the Punchayet he was not regular in attendance. He acted as the agent of a large landed proprietor Mr. Amavadai Iyengar who hated

rural life and lived a luxurious life in an adjoining town. Mr. Garuda Iyengar ever since the Chinese invasion of India, lived in mortal dread of the enemy, and expected any day that his house would be looted, and he would be taken as a prisoner to Pekin. Though Mr. Naidu had ridiculed him often and tried his best to convince him of his ungrounded fears, Mr. Garuda Iyangar was absolutely certain that he would have to spend his last days under the odious rule of the Mongols.

Mr. Nedunal Pillai urged the necessity of convening the Village Assembly without any delay for making arrangements for selecting fifty men as their village was classed under the B Division. He reminded them that all the villages were classed under three divisions A, B, and C. The village of A class should contribute 100 men, and C class 25 men.

Mr. Gosami Naidu said :—" It is true that the Military Service Act requires our village to send only 50 men. Would that be sufficient I wonder? The Mongols might be millions strong. It would be better if we

select 100 men once for all. There would be no difficulty in selecting the men by lots. The ancient method of selecting an adult member from every family is preferable. Selection by lots depends upon blind chance. Uunder this system it might so happen that many families having many adults, strong, sturdy fellows might be left untouched. We can exempt all families having only one adult. What do you say?"

"It depends not upon our will, Sir," said Mr. Paramananda Iyer who was rather irritated at Mr. Naidu's attempts to change the existing law. "The best and ablest men in our province have passed the Military Service Act after mature consideration. Our Naidu who fancies that he is wiser than the wisest in the land, objects to the procedure. It is very funny. Instead of acting as practical business men, he wastes our time by bringing in ancient customs when men fought with bows and arrows. Times have changed. Machine guns, Maxim guns, Krupp guns, poisonous gas, trench system, and æroplanes have all revolutionized the methods of warfare."

Mr. Nachi Narkinur Pillai interrupted the speaker and said :—" Mr. Naidu Garu, you need not make a parade of your knowledge of ancient customs. The class room is best suited for displaying your talents. We have met here to settle the day for convening the Village Assembly, besides requiring all males from 20 to 35 years to be present when the Assembly holds its sittings. I think our Munsiff Pillai would fix a day, say three days hence *i.e.*, next Friday, and issue orders for tom-tom. Instead of settling these details, our Iyer, as was his wont, speaks of æroplanes and trenches."

The Village Munsiff agreed to the suggestion made, and, as there was no dissenting member, recorded the resolution in the book of proceedings of the Village Punchayet, Nalamur, and all the five members of the Punchayet affixed their signatures.

The Village Munsiff then said :—" Friends, I have to place another matter before you formally. It is about the two sporadic cases of dengue fever, somewhat suspicious cases in one of our hamlets, Viringipuram. Promptly I had them segregated, and wired to the

Sanitary Inspector of Vellalacheri. He came on receipt of the wire, and attended to the cases. I feared it might have been plague. There were no other cases. Preventive measures have been taken. I shall make a note of these proceedings in my Sanitary Diary. I want to know from you whether any further measures have to be taken against all future contingencies."

Mr. Garuda Iyengar said. "I do not often attend these meetings. Of course it is not your fault, my dear Munsiff Pillai. You sent me notice in time. Those suspicious cases of plague or dengue fever occurred in my hamlet. While I was daily planning schemes as to what I should do if the Chinese attacked me and looted my house, this new danger, this new epidemic caused me sleepless nights for three days. I think the Sanitary Inspector is a fool, he entered the house, mixed with those suspicious cases, and then went to Nalamur to report to you the result of his investigation."

Mr. Naidu interrupted the speaker and told him that the Sanitary Inspector first saw them, and then went to the hamlet for in-

vestigation, and requested the Munsiff Pillai whether there was any other work to do on the agenda.

The Village Munsiff said:—"Yes, Sir, there is a petition of some Ayacutdars of Nalamur about diverting the irrigation channel in a north-west direction so as to give perferential treatment to the land on the tank-bund. As you know the matter was once threshed out three months ago. Again we are worried with this settled fact. Shall I refer the question to the Assembly on Friday?"

Mr. Naidu said:—"I think the time of the Village Assembly is too precious to be wasted with such trivial matters. In the olden days when everything was done by orders of bureaucratic officers, the collective opinion of the village was never sought after, and was a negligible quantity. Now the whole rural autonomy is vested in the Punchayet and the Assembly. As such we should place only proper or relevant matters before the Assembly. You had better inform the petitioners that the Punchayatdars are of opinion that such matters as are referred to in the

petition, cannot be reopened so soon after their settlement, and if the Petitioners thought fit, they might make a fresh application next year stating any special ground for revising the previous order. Accordingly the Munsiff drafted a reply and secured the signatures of the Punchayetdars present, Mr. Garuda Iyengar having already left the meeting.

Mr. Naidu wanted the Munsiff to make a note of the irregular attendance of Mr. Iyengar, and state it before the Assembly when he seeks re-election. The meeting was dissolved.

The Village Assembly met on Friday as arranged by the Panchayatdars. All the thirty-five members were present. As the business to be transacted was considered urgent and important, there were no defaulters. The members were elected last year in accordance with the regulations issued under the Village Punchayats Act of 1926. Mr. Gulambo Michel, I.C.S., the senior sub-divisional officer, was invited to be present by the Village Punchayet. He was a distinguished member of the Indian

Civil Service. He was a civilian of many years' standing, and he continued to serve in the Civil Service even after the grant of Home-rule in 1922. It must be said to his credit that he had given up his old bureaucratic ways and reconciled himself to the new situation. As a member of the Civil Service he realized his position as a servant of the public, not its master. Bureaucratic airs of superiority, haughty self-conceit, were unknown to him even in those old days when a civilian Collector of a district was considered as a sort of local Czar who came to rule over the land. By nature, and temperament, he was always sympathetic in his relations towards his fellow-citizens. One of the first Acts passed by the Legislative Assembly was the separation of magisterial and revenue functions. So five years ago he was deprived of his magisterial powers. He chose to be the principal revenue officer of the division and ceased to exercise any authority over the Sub-Magistrates, the Deputy-Magistrates, who were all placed under the sole authority and appellate jurisdiction of Session Judges and the High

Court. Mr. Michel was happy when he was relieved of all criminal work, He freely moved with the citizens, ascertained their wants and grievances, and spared no pains in alleviating their sufferings. When the sitting member for his division in the Legislative Assembly brought any matter before him, he promptly attended to it, and sent a reply to the member stating what he had done in the matter. Mr. Gosami Naidu once delivered a lecture on the differences between the bureaucratic regime and the present democratic rule, and brought out in his own vivid fashion the attitude of the bureaucratic servants as contrasted with that of public servants under responsible goverment. Mr. Michel who presided on the occasion agreed in toto with the lecturer, and pointed out that the angle of vision had completely changed for a young civilian on entering on his duty along with his Indian civilians recruited in India under a system of comptetitive examination here almost similar to that held in England. Mr. Michel was also a Tamil scholar, and moved intimately with the people. That was the secret of his success.

The Village Assembly had its own elected speaker Mr. Kathirgama Pillai who addressed the Village Munsiff to begin the sessions by stating the purpose for which the Assembly was convened. The villagers were seated on the open space adjacent to the Village Hall where the Assembly held its sittings.

"Gentlemen, I have convened the Assembly under the orders of the Punchayet." said the Munsiff, "As the Chinese are in our midst an emergent war measure—the Quasi-Voluntary Military Service Act was passed in our local Parliament. The Minister for Home Affairs has issued circulars for convening Village Assemblies, and selecting by casting lots, 100, 50 or 25 men according to the population of the village. Our village was placed in the B Division, bound to contribute 50 men. It is for that purpose the Assembly has been convened. Those of us who are willing to serve the motherland in this crisis, and who have not been fortunate enough to be included in the fifty men selected by casting lots, can separately give their names to the Recruiting Officer in the nearest town or to Mr. Michel whom I have

specially invited for the purpose. Gentlemen desirous of speaking may address the Assembly."

Mr. Mahasivam Pillai rose and spoke as follows:—"Gentlemen, it is the duty of every Indian to defend his kith and kin. Instead of casting lots, I wish conscription had been adopted by our Premier. Millions would have flocked to the standard, to crush the little Army of Tartars in Burmah. I say it is a contemptuous little Army of one or two millions. I say that the Unite States of India consisting of free and self-governing states under the suzerainty of Britain should treat the present invasion of India with unmitigated contempt. A puissant nation of 350 millions of free and liberty-loving citizens cannot be conquered, subjugated or coerced by an old effete nation of millions of fawning and cringing slaves. I want you to realise the seriousness of the situation, and rise to the full stature of your manhood. I appeal not only to you assembled in this Hall, but to that large wider audience sitting in the maidan here. We should not be alarmed or panic-stricken, but be careful, ex-

tremely careful, for the theif might enter our house unawares while we are asleep." (Loud Applause).

Mr. Gosami Naidu was the next speaker. After pointing out that conscription should have been adopted, he said. :" I am ready to shoulder my rifle in defence of my motherland. When I look at this Assembly and the enthusium displayed, I am reminded of the past when certain so-called friends of the Indian masses, the illiterate and teeming millions of India, when certain alleged champions of the dumb millions proclaimed from house-tops, that they were the trustees, the guardians, and the advocates of the masses as against the educated classes. What a stupendous lie a mammoth falsehood they had the hardihood to utter! How could a foreign merchant or a foreign journalist who had to come to India to earn his livelihood and make his fortune, represent and protect the interests of the illiterate masses of India? Our educated countrymen who move with us daily, understand all our wants and grievances, and are indissolubly bound to us by ties of blood, religion, and language

and interests, are our best representatives. I was sometimes amused to find some provincial Governor of those bureaucratic days who after drawing princely salaries for five years in India returned to England with our monies without the least gratitude to the people who benefitted him, and there entered into an unholy conspiracy with commercial exploiters of India for posing as the champions of the masses as against the educated classes. I say I am an ordinary cultivator. Who will protect my interests? Is it the foreign commercial adventurer or foreign journalist or my own countrymen, educated patriots having interests identical as my own? What a shameless lie it is for any foreign commercial or industrial agency or journalistic bird of passage writing in their journals, run and maintained by such exploiters, writing in their gutter journals that they must safeguard the interests of the masses?"

At this stage the Speaker drew the attention of the member to confine his remarks on matters relevant to the agenda of the meeting, and said, "Mr. Naidu Garu, why

do you waste breath on such a simple matter? Even in those bureaucratic days no sane man believed that a foreign merchant or journalist or retired administrative fossils would represent, protect, and safeguard the interests of the Indian masses. Now such matters are of antiquarian interest. Please confine yourself to the business on hand."

Mr. G. Michel S C,S next addressed the Assembly in Tamil, (All the proceedings were in Tamil) and pointed out to them that men, money, and munitions were urgently wanted for the successful prosecution of the war, and no delay should be made.

Mr. Michel, I.C.S., continued and said: "Gentlemen I am tempted to offer a few remarks on the question raised by our Naidu orator. I have the highest regard for his opinions. This is the third or fourth occasion when I have the pleasure of hearing his speeches. I have studied your Tamil language, and try to move intimately with you all, courting opportunities for prolonged conversation. Still I confess I have not understood you fully or entered into your feelings. When such is case, how can a foreign civilian or

journalist who moves in a world of his own, who loves the company of his own countrymen, his gymkhanas, his tennis courts, and his social clubs which exclude Indians, I say how can such an alien ruler who creates an atmosphere of his own, filled with men of his colour, filled with his pet dogs and hounds, who never associates even during jamabandi work with non-official Indians in friendly conversation, pretend to represent and protect the interests of the masses? I say such a claim is transparently stupid and absurd. Much less an Anglo-Indian journalist or merchant whose sole aim is to make money. I put this question to myself:—Have I come to India to protect the interests of the masses as against the educated classes? Or have I studied for the Indian Civil Service with a missionary object? No, a thousand times No! If I had obtained a good appointment in my own country, I would not have come to this land of regrets. I have come to this country to earn my livlihood and to save money for a wintry day. It is as plain as daylight. How could I pretend to represent the views, the opinions, and the

grievances of the illiterate masses, and to protect their interests? How could I honestly say that the educated countrymen who have sprung from the people cannot represent and protect their interests? It was once the prevailing cant with some of my countrymen. Now happily under the popular government of your own people there is no occasion to make such sham pretensions. I do not think that anybody was deceived even then. Such a preposterous claim is so galling and irritating that one is tempted to whip even a dead horse."

Thereupon the V. Munsiff said: "Gentlemen, I shall not waste your time any further. I call upon you to select the fifty men required under the Act, and after such a selection those who are willing to defend your fatherland, might give their names to Mr. Michel for enlistment."

The speaker put the resolution for enlistment to vote, and it was carried unanimously.

Mr. Gosami Naidu next stood up and explained the mode of selection by casting votes. There were 285 citizens present, including the 35 members of the Assembly.

285 slips were prepared, 235 were blank pieces, and on 50 slips the words "*Service for the Mother*" were written. The lots were cast, and fifty were chosen. Then Mr. Tukaram Row Saheb rose, and requested permission to speak a few words to his countrymen on the subject of voluntary enlistment. The members of the Punchayet readily gave him permission to speak before Mr. Michel, I.C.S., took the names of the volunteers.

Mr. Tukaram said:—"Gentlemen, I am a Mahratta non-Brahman; my grandfather came and settled in these parts. I congratulate the fifty gentlemen who have been selected by Providence to render service to the Mother at this critical period of her history. How happy I would have been if I had been among the charmed circle of fifty. God has willed it otherwise. His ways are mysterious and inscrutable, and cannot be fathomed by our little finite minds. Of course I am going to give my name for a volunteer before our Sahab Michel. I am not going to sit still, and be attending to my daily work when an unscrupulous and bar-

barous invader has invaded my country committing inhuman atrocities on its peaceful, innocent, law-abiding inhabitants. I feel sure you would have read the accounts of his savagery published in the Dravidian Patriot a few days ago,—how the enemy systematically confiscated all valuable private properties, how they torture and blackmail the leading inhabitants and rifle them of all their wealth, how men are collected and despatched to unknown stations to do manual work, to construct trenches and the like, and how our women and children have been ravished and killed by an infuriated, maddened, and lustful soldiery. My surprise and wonder is how a great and powerful nation, nursed in the tenets and the traditions of Buddhism, the religion founded by that great Prince of Peace would stoop so low, would descend to such beastly lengths, out-beating all written records of cannibals and Kingsmill Islanders:—how such a nation could have committed the atrocities imputed to it.—I dare say you would have read the reports of Messrs. Lala Nath and Pindi Das, those blood-curdling accounts of the Tartar

atrocities. Heaven forbid that the refined ruffian is allowed to advance beyond Mandalay. I admit that the feelings generated in me by reading their reports are those of stern vengeance on the rascals who have disturbed the peace and tranquility in the land. If Mahratta blood runs in my veins, I shall see him smashed, and crushed like a worm on the confines of Burmah. All Indians must rise as one man, present one indivisble impenetrable united front, and roll back the enemy beyond the Mekhong river or throw him into the Bay of Bengal."

"It has become the fashion for a section of these Europeans to represent that the Indians are uneducated and unenlightened, that 90 per cent of the male population are illiterate, and 99 per cent of its female population are illiterate and superstitious and so forth, that they are unfit for representative institutions and that if any were set up they would crumble to dust sooner or later."

"Gentlemen, I have no faith in the verdicts of European scholars on the political destinies of mankind. They have one un-

couth and fantastic cap, they put it on your head—the head of the Asiatic or American,—and if the cap does not fit in with your head, they at once declare you have no head, but something else. My father used to tell me that there was a great civil war in the American Republic on the question of slavery more than fifty years ago, and European critics were loud and boisterous in their acclamations that the republican bubble of America had burst."

"Similarly about India; our histories have been systematically falsified. Prejudiced European writers and missionary historians, ignorant of our ancient literature, have misinterpreted our civilization and our culture. It may be that 90 per cent of the people may be illiterate i.e., may not be aquainted with the English alphabet or Tamil alphabet. But it does not necessarily mean that the people are ignorant and stupid. They are not aware that we have inherited a culture of our own, from ages past, ideals of righteousness, and moral character have been instilled into us, have been dinned into our ears by our religious gurus and lecturers,

and by Harikatha performances, and Bhajana celebrations. Even the most unlettered Indian is not ignorant of our national ideals, —ideals of righteousness, peace on earth and good will among men. The names of Rama, Sita, Arjuna, Krishna and Radha, Harischandra and Chandramati, Nala and Damayanti, Savitri and Arundhati, these are household words in every Hindu home. Such a culture, irrespective of a knowledge of human alphabets, has set up before the nation high ideals of honesty, uprightness, dignity, mercy and generosity and kindness to all manifestations of life. It is no wonder that, in spite of their illiteracy, the people are honest, upright and truthful, their inherited culture and traditions would enable them to judge between right and wrong, and exercise the franchise in a manner beneficial to society. Our Village Punchayets are model republics for the guidance of the people of Europe and America. Such quasi-republican organizations have existed from time immemorial for more than three thousand years. I would put it even as 5000 years. When our ancestors were trading in ships

of their own with Babylon and Rome and China, where were the ancestors of the champions of modern civilisation who declare us unfit for representative institutions? Were they roaming half naked in the forests of Central Europe and North Germany without any ideas of settled government, were they roaming about without any settled home in a state of semi-savagery? The descendants of such people taunt us with being illiterate and uncivilized. It is true we have not yet learnt the use of poisonous gas for comiting wholesale murders, the uses of picric acid, Prussic acid and high explosives killing hundreds of men at one stroke. We are ignorant of the abnormal uses of the mailed fist for ruthlessly crushing and annihilating smaller nationalities, all weaker nations must go to the wall and perish. If such acts constitute high culture I plead guilty that my people are illiterate, unfit for political privileges and unfit in committing wholesale murders by scientific process, unfit to commit robberies on all our weaker neighbours and extirpating them when they are opposed to their methods of culture."

"Gentlemen, I have stated these facts with intent to show the real character of the western civilization as contrasted with our national culture of righteousness and purity, peace and good-will among men. We do not want to be civilized by any foreigner. In opposing such offers of culture, we must be prepared to shatter his mailed fist and crumble it to dust. That is the reason why I call upon you, nay implore you to join the Army for repelling the invaders. In token of my earnestness I give my name for enlistment to our Michel Sahab, and resume my seat. I feel special delight that I had a representative of the Western civilization present to hear my address. If he feels inclined to express his opinion some of us would be happy to know it. To show my grim earnestness and patriotic enthusiasm I hereby sign the recruiting application and seal it with my blood."

After saying these words Mr. Tukaram, descended from fiery Mahratta warriors of old, signed the application. Taking a drop of his blood from a finger by scratching it with a knife, he wiped his

signature in the application with his blood. Wildest enthusiasm prevailed. Almost all who were present enrolled themselves as volunteers except the four members of the Punchayet. Mr. Gosami Naidu was frantic with joy. They all marched in procession with tom-tom to the temple of Kali or Mariyayi, and made peace offerings to the diety. Each and every one, while prostrating before the Flagstaff of the temple, vowed that he would not return to the village without destroying the Huns.

Mr. Michel saw that the whole village was up in arms, it was not an isolated case; wherever he went, he found the same earnestness, the same determination to avenge the enemy and drive him back from the land. He felt that it was the spirit of liberty that was roused in them by the grant of Home-Rule. In the olden days the people were apathetic and indifferent. Mr. Michel saw a wonderful change in the people and felt some inward joy that his countrymen who stood as champions of the weak and the oppressed had roused an ancient nation from its sleep, infused new life and vigour into

them, and made them once again a manly and self-reliant nation; he muttered that England was true to her traditions of liberty. To have found a great and ancient nation sunk in ignorance and political torpor, and lifted them up to higher spheres of enlightenment and national self-consciousness, and raised them to a pinnacle of glory—is one of the most brilliant chapters in the annals of his country. When, a few days later, Mr. Hopkinson paid a visit to his headquarters, Mr. Michel narrated to him in detail the vived scenes of recruitment deeply impressed on his memory in the various villages in his jurisdiction, especially in Nalamur where a Mahratta patriot Tukaram with his passionate appeals roused them to a high pitch of enthusiasm, where almost the whole village enlisted in the Army.

"It seems to me, Mr. Hopkinson" continued Mr. Michel, "that England did not realise her mission in India at first. It was considered a garden for supplying raw products and giving snug berths for her boys. Under the stimulating influence of the German War, when an irresistible impulse

was given to the princ'ple of self-determination in fashioning the destinies of nationalities, England true to her liberal traditions as the nursery of liberty in Europe, trained the Indians in the art of self-government and rejuvenated the old historic nation, and converted her into one of the first class powers in the East by granting her Home-rule and satisfying her national aspirations. These village, national, and imperial assemblies redolent with new vigour and consciousness form the soundest triumph of the British Administration and a crown of glory to the British Nation."

Mr. Hopkinson informed his friend that personal contact with the Indian people,—not the official artificial acquaintance with the people in hearing their petitions, with superior airs of condescension,—would endear them to the heart of any foreigner. With the establishment of popular assemblies all those higher qualities of patriotism and nobility and self-sacrifice, which have been latent and hidden, have been brought out into high relief so as to elicit the admiration of the civilized world. The signal defeat

of the Mongol hordes in Burmah would place India on a level with Japan competing with her for hegemony in the East.

CHAPTER VII.

CONSTITUTIONAL STRUGGLE FOR LIBERTY.

To many globe-trotters India is a museum of different races, creeds, and castes. To the scientific enquirer, the ethnologist, or the anthropolcgist, it is a grand human Laboratory exhibiting different stages of human development in the evolution of man. To the religious enthusiast, or the fanatic missionary, India presents a concentrated mixture of human beliefs, superstitions, dogmas, and tenets ranging from primitive barbarism to the highest flights of philosophy that the human mind has ever reached. To the political reformer India supplies a theme for anxious study illustrating the different stages of human progress from slavery to liberty, and from autocracy to democracy. About a decade ago, Mr. E. S. Montagu, as an earnest student of politics, visited India, and studied its political condition under the aegis of bureaucracy with intent to train the people in the art of responsible government. Before he became the Secretary of State for India, he had condemned the system of the

government then prevalent as being too wooden, too iron, and too antedeluvian, as being throughly unsuited for modern requirements. On his landing in India, the bureaucracy filed a revision petition asking the distinguished statesman to revise his notions about India and its government, and supplied him with an excellent pair of Anglo-Indian spectacles for studying the problems on the spot from a different angle of vision to which he had been accustomed in England. A golden muzzle was also placed on the minister's lips preventing him from making any speeches about the wooden and antedeluvian character of the Government of India. Such precautionary measures were taken presumably for ensuring deep concentration of thought on political problems. The plan had well succeeded; after hearing addresses, and receiving deputations, he sat in solemn conclave with the Viceroy and his provincial satraps, and framed a scheme of reforms for educating and training the people of India in the school of political responsibility, recommended that they should be put in the first form in the school of responsible govern-

ment, and left the matter of the promotion and all further progress of the pupils to the Viceroy and his bureaucracy. Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta raised a hue and cry against the scheme, and the school of bureaucracy it recommended, while Nagpur and Lahore, which were then ruled by typical bureaucratic Governors, accepted the scheme which was accordingly enforced in those provinces. A modified scheme was introduced in those factious provinces of Madras, Bombay and Calcutta; and when the Labour party came into power in Britain in 1922, they set up Home-rule Parliaments in those three provinces, as well as at Delhi, while at Nagpur and Lahore the original scheme of Government framed by Mr. Montagu was in force. In 1923 a Home Rule Parliament was set up at Allahabad, while in Burma the Morley scheme of reforms was introduced in 1922, as its bureaucratic Government then reported to the British Labour Cabinet that the people were politically backward, and though there was a higher percentage of literacy in the province than in British India, it was the desire of the

Burman people that their fortunes should not be linked with those of British India, that they should remain a separate Crown Colony and be ruled and protected under the perpetual tutelage of bureaucracy. Though the theory of trusteeship and guardianship was repudiated by all true American democrats, the imperialistic school of politicians of Germany and Britain insisted on their right to act as trustees and guardians for smaller nationalities, and certain other non-European races. Britain claimed the right to treat India as her trust porperty, and train the Indians in the art of popular and domocratic Government by a graduated series of political exercises, and promoting them into the higher classes every five or ten years, and judging of their fitness for promotion or depromotion from stage to stage. Such a claim for treating India as a ward of foreign British courts, and giving her periodical doses of liberty on her consenting to keep the peace and be of good behaviour, and continuing to be in the good graces of her foreign bureaucratic guardians and trustees,—such a claim was considered by the British Labour Party as

inconsistent with the British policy of national self-determination preached in the last German War and the Peace Conference at Versailles in 1919. Such principles of self-determination were held to be inapplicable to the peculiar conditions that prevailed in certain parts of India.

Among such advocates of sundried bureaucracy in India was Sir S. D. B. Fossilon, the Governor of Central Provinces, who was appointed in 1923 to sit at the helm of state at Nagpur, and train the people in the art of responsible government under the Montagu scheme. In the local Legislative Council, 75 per cent of the members were elected members and the rest were nominated by the Governor to represent the various interests and classes. There were 80 members including the nominated members. A grand committee of thirty-two members was formed, of whom twenty were officials. Mr. D. Abhiman was the leader of the majority of elected members; and fifty of the elected members elected him as their leader and called themselves as Nationalists or Liberals. The Governor selected him,

and his friend Mr. Svarajya, another elected member, as his Ministers for the transferred departments of Local self-government, Education, Agriculture, Sanitation, and Co-operation. For the reserved departments, the Governor appointed Mr. B. D. Hard as his official Member, and Mr. Mulrojee Row as his non-official Member; and they formed the Executive Council in sole charge of reserved departments. Mr. Facing-both-ways was appointed as additional Member without any portfolio for advising the Council. Mr. Mulrojee Row was for sometime a legal practitioner; his unswerving loyalty, his staunch adherence to official hierarchy, his studious avoidance of all noisy fussy agitation for imaginary or real rights, his moderate views on the political problems of the day, and his constant advice to elect members to work in mutual forbearance and hearty co-operation, and avoid unpleasant conflicts and dead-locks,—all these high qualities had endeared him to the Governor and the official members of his Executive Council. Ever since Sir S. D. B. Fossilon was appointed fromEngland, an agitation was started, and

kept up against him at Nagpur for no other reason than that the Governor had previously spoken disparagingly about the Indian claim for responsible government. It was considered too democratic for the Labour Ministry to appoint Governors from the members of the Labour party. The Governor Fossilon would not budge an inch in asserting all his right under the Montagu Scheme, and had many a tussle with the Ministers for the transferred departments. Before the Budget meeting in 1926, Mr. D. Abhimani sought an interview with the Governor with a view to tender his resignation. The Governor tried to persuade him to remain.

"You must consider that your tenure of office does not depend on the wishes of the Legislative Council," said the Governor to the Minister, "You know under the Act I am not bound to select the elected member who has got the majority in the Council. I may select any elected member. All that I want him to do is to administer the transferred departments with the funds I allot to him. You remember that even in the original report of Montagu-Chelmsford the Governor

is not expected to play the part of constitutional Governor as in a self-governing Colony and select the leader of the house who has got a majority. In the instrument of Instructions to Governors sent from the India Office I am not compelled to do so. It contains a bundle of pious wishes and consitutional maxims which have no application in such a country as India. After making the required contribution to the Government of India, I have alloted sufficient funds for my reserved departments; and the balance will be given to your departments. I cannot help it if you frequently complain that your departments are all starved."

"In 1924 I wanted to pass an Elementary Education Bill." Mr. D. Abhimani pointed out to the Governor. "The funds you allotted would hardly cover one-tenth of the expenditure required for setting up free elementary schools as we planned. The late Mr. Gokhale tried about 14 years ago to have such a Bill passed. Subsequently Mr. Sarma tried in vain. To meet the necessary expenditure for such a comprehensive measure, we proposed to levy an educational cess

which on calculation covered one-half of the expenditure. Then we asked you to allot to us double the amount allowed to us by you, which sum would cover only one-fifths of the total expenditure. Your colleague Mr. D. Hard said that it was impossible, and refused to allot one pie more. Nevertheless we proceeded with the Bill curtailing our programme. The Bill was finally wrecked; you all seriously proclaimed that the introduction of compulsory system of education would land the country in anarchy and chaos. The Damocles' sword of veto always hangs on our heads in respect of all measures distasteful to the official mind. Further you have got that extraordinary weapon of a certificate of peace and tranquility to be hurled at our heads whenever you do not like our measures. Your Grand Committee is a convenient tool available to meet official requirements. When we agitated for non-official majorities in our legislative councils, you were forced to give it by stress of public opinion; with deliberate intent to secure and ensure bureaucratic supremacy, you created another council with an official majority as

an effective check on the popular party. The Grand Committees, the Council of State, and certificates of order, peace and good government are all clever bureaucratic expedients for ensuring bureaucratic monopoly. Mr. Montagu who would not have them, was asured that they were absolutely necessary in the transitional stage from autocracy to liberty and responsible government."

"I wonder what you are driving at" the Governor interrupted the Minister. "It is no use declaiming against the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme of reforms. We are working it to see how far the people are fit to be entrusted with responsible government. If you display your unfitness by such resignations, eternal conflicts and deadlocks, I have to report your unfitness to the Government of India and the Secretary of State who are declared to be the Judges as to the measure and the time for extension of political privileges. Please tell me what are your specific grievances personally ?"

"I see you want my personal grievances" replied Mr. Abhiman, "The position of the

Indian Minister for the Transferred Departments is very anamolous. He is an elected member and apparently responsible to his constituents, i.e., when he seeks re-election, he must secure their good will. If he were to side with the official and European members, the latter would readily find him an asylum or a constituency of Anglo-Indian captains of industries and commerce. The planting, mining, and mercantile interests might find him a constituency especially when the Indian Minister passed as a champion of their interests. It would be within the letter of the Statute if the Governor selects a planting Member, or the representative of Anglo-Indian Chambers of Commerce as his Minister or Ministers for the Transferred Departments.

"Further you have selected me or appointed me to the post; you are for the present entitled to fix my pay even. Practically you are my master. The elected members cannot remove me from my office; they may pass votes of want of confidence in me; such protests might be unheeded by you and me. The instrument of Instructions

which have not force of statute-law, might be explained away as the Proclamation of Queen Victoria of blessed memory. I am not putting hypothetical cases. Within the last three years we have had bitter experience of the working of the Montagu Scheme. The Congress-League Scheme was condemned on account of deadlocks arising from its working. Now under this scheme are we working? We have every year a regular battle between you and me, between the transferred and the reserved departments. This impracticable and silly idea of compartmental autonomy first originated in the mind of a constitution-monger, a terrible expert like Abbe Sieyes in constitution-planning on paper, Mr. Lionel Curtis of the Round-table notoriety. The Anglo-Indian bureaucracy cheerfully embraced the idea, sought therein refuge and consolation that it would prevent the grant of full autonomy. It is novel and unprecedented. The makers of the American, the French, the Canadian, or Australian Constitutions never imagined for a moment that an administration could be split up into two bureaus of autocracy and democracy existing side by side, and working in concert, ensuring

efficient administration and at the same time promoting the contentment and prosperity of the people. They were practical politicians, not mere political theorists manufacturing paper constitutions. I ask you, Sir, to point out to me one precedent in the history of the civilized world where the administration of a country has been bifurcated into two compartments, one compartment which is official and irresponsible to the people in charge of important departments, the other compartent which is non-official or elected and responsible to the people in charge of certain transferred departments, the elected members accepting the crumbs that fell from the official table with frequent starvation facing them in the face. Cursed be the day when this absurd idea of bifurcated administration of a State entered the minds of English statesmen!"

"Mr. Abhiman, what earthly use is there in your declaiming against the very system under which you have been working these three years?" the Governor remarked, "You may as well protest against the earth going round the sun. Manage somehow for the

remaining two years, and then retire from all public life. In my opinion the system of compartments is admirably suited to the peculiar conditions of India."

"You say that the compartmental system is admirably suited for India." Mr. Abhiman continued, "I shall remind you of half a dozen instances of the bureaucratic character, and its impracticability or unworkability of the compartmental system of administration. In the last year's budget you abnormally increased the expenditure on the Police; in the Legislative Council I wanted to cut it short only by ten per cent you budgetted for; What did you and your Executive Council do? You issued a certificate that as the expenditure related to a reserved department, the additional expenditure was necessary in the interests of peace, order and good government; the services of your Grand Committee where the elected members have no majority were invoked; we were powerless, and protested; the Excutive Council had its allotment passed. I shall take another instance. The Executive Council wanted a resettlement of certain northern districts

in the province. We passed certain resolutions in our Legislative Council by substantial majorities objecting to the re-settlement, and insisting on certain preliminary enquiries. Our resolutions remained as mere recommendations or pious wishes not binding on you. You remember that we strongly urged the preliminary appointment of a Committee for certain enquiries. Your Council reminded us, that our resolutions related to the reserved departments, and the appointment of Committees and preliminary enquiries were vexatious and prejudicial to public interests. Our protests were a mere voice in the wilderness. We are thus trained in the art of responsible government. In certain cases of deportation and internments, interpellations were asked in the Legislative Council. I answered that such matters pertained to reserved departments. Subsequently a resolution was passed in the Legislative Council calling for public enquiries, and public trials. I transmitted all the papers to your Executive Council. The bureaucratic reply was that, in the interests of peace, order and good government, such action was necessary, and

as those persons acted in a manner prejudicial to public safety, their public trial was not expedient in the interests of justice. Neverthless some members called for inspection of papers; it was also refused on the ground that it would be detrimental to public interests. We have been hearing these words for more than thirty years; Montagu preached on mutual forbearance, good will, and harmonious co-operation. When such is the treatment accorded to elect members in respect of reserved departments, how could you expect forbearance or co-operation from them? I say the administration of a State is one and indivisible; it is the height of folly to divide it and set up strife, friction, and conflict among the divided parts; I do not complain against you or Mr. Die-Hard, nor even against your pliant and supple non-official voting machine in the person of Mr. Mulroji Row; but I say the system is ill-conceived, and ill-planned, and ill-worked."

"Have you poured forth all your grievances?" the Governor asked the Minister. "I have been thinking that, if you have

exhausted them, your mind would be appeased, and your heart lightened; you would then come to a mood of accepting my advice and continue for two more years. Even in the last year this fit of resignation came on you; you worried me for a few days; I pacified you.'

"On the question of resignation I have made up my mind," replied the Minister, "If you give me a patient hearing for some time more you will realise the awkward position in which I am placed. I tell you, Sir, no self-respecting man would have put up with such worries, such ever-increasing friction, and periodical conflicts. Please compare my position with that of Ministers working in Home-rule Assemblies in Madras, Calcutta and Bombay. The appellation of Minister to the person, in charge of Transferred Departments is a mockery and a delusion. The separation of executive and judicial functions has been a standing grievance for the last forty years. Viceroys and Governors and Secretaries of State admitted the necessity, but pleaded want of funds. Even in the time of Lord Hardinge

promises were held out without any fulfilment. What has happened in the Presidency towns? As soon as fully elected or Home-rule Assemblies were set up in 1923, one of their first acts was the separation of those functions. Stimulated by such examples, a Bill was brought in our Legislative Council for effecting a separation of excutive and judicial functions. I admit it is one of the reserved subjects. When it was about to be passed, a certificate was issued quoting those magical words peace, order, and good government; and your Grand Committee was seized of the matter; the Bill was altered beyond all recognition with a number of reservations and exemptions, and it became practically worthless; your colleague Mr. D. Hard had a clause inserted in it to the effect that the Act was to come into force by means of a Notification in the official Gazette when the funds became available. You all meant it as a joke; but we took it as a personal insult. To remedy a crying evil we cried out; we exerted to have the intolerable anamoly removed. But the bureaucracy would not permit it. Even with regard to

transferred departments, the Governor has a "*power of control*" over them, as he is "*generally held responsible for the administration.*" The Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme of reforms was officially considered as constituting "*substantial steps*" towards the progressive realization of responsible Government. I fail to see the responsibility in the elected members. All responsibility is vested in the bureaucracy as in olden days viz., the Governor and his Executive Council.

"You must remember, Mr. Desa Abhiman that it is a transitional stage; friction and conflict are inevitable. There must be forbearance and co-operation."

"Should not forbearance and co-operation be mutual?" asked the Minister "you assert and enforce all your rights under the statute, and even strain the meaning of words. A very strict construction is placed on the rules and statutes relating to elected members, their privileges and transferred departments. The more I consider on the bifurcated division of administration and its practical working, the more I am convinced not by apriori arguments, but by my actual experience, that

the wit of man cannot devise a more illogical, a more unpracticable, a more absurd system than the scheme of partition of administration functions among elected and official members. It is impossible that I would continue to be your minister or dummy machine for registering bureaucratic orders. I cannot, consistent with my self-respect, indulge in the luxury of running toy parliaments. When my countrymen are arrested and imprisoned without trial and detained for indefinite periods, when independent newspapers are frequently harassed or suppressed, when respectable journalists are treated on a par with habitual criminals, when we have to move, live, and have our being in an atmosphere of racial inferiority, and racial submission, and when I am unable to lift my fingers for redressing such grievances, and for ameliorating the condition of such persecuted persons, and when masses are weighted with grinding poverty, I cannot remain your Premier for the Transferred Departments. Leaving aside agriculture, the Ministry for the transferred departments can exercise no power of control over the

industries or the commerce of the province. What powers have I to promote its industrial condition? Can I give any bounties to nascent industries, or stimulate infant industries by any State aid or legislation? Foreign exploitation continues as brisk as ever. In the neighbouring province of Hyderabad ruled by an enlightened chief, the State renders all possible assistance to the coal mines of Singaren, the gold mines of Linsugar, and the Paper Mills at Daulatabad. The carpet industry of Warrangal owes its present prosperous condition solely to the benificent care of its patriotic rulers. Can you point out a single instance of your rendering any aid to any indigenous industry run by Indians; So I have finally made up my mind to resign. I wish you will raise no further objection. My friend Mr. Swarajya also resigns."

"So it is final? Will you recommend any elected member in your place?" asked the Governor.

"I am sorry I cannot" was the reply.

After the departure of the Minister, the Governor sent for Mr. Hard, and Mr. Mulroji

Row, and held a prolonged conversation on the subject of selecting ministers from the Legislative Council. Seven or eight members were sent for; and they all declined; and the rest were tapped to no purpose. A representative of the European Chambers of Commerce, Mr. Mopington, accepted the offer. He selected his friend Mr. Lemaire Fry who represented the European planting communities. Messrs Mopington, and Le Fry became Ministers for the transferred departments. They had no majority in the Council. It was not binding on the Governor to select the elected member who had a majority in the Council. That rule applied only in self-governing colonies. For the transitional stages, any elected member, be he a European or an Indian, might be selected as the Minister for transferred departments. Under the Minto-Morley Reforms the Governor was required to have an Indian as a member of the Executive Council, so that non-official opinion would be represented in the Council. A Governor once selected an official Indian, and such a selection was held strictly within the letter of the law. So the

Montagu Scheme required an elected member; the Governor Fossilon selected an elected European Member as his Minister, which was quite within the statute. When some Indians lodged a written protest to the Governor that such a selection was contrary to the spirit of the law, the Governor-in-Council threatened to dissolve the Council under the powers vested in him. After a good deal of acrimonious correspondence between the Governor-in-Council and certain elected members, the Legislative Council was dissolved; and a fresh general election was held, and almost the same members were returned with one exception viz., Mr. Gapington was returned in place of Dungall for representing Anglo-Indian mining interests. The Governor hunted for Indian elected members for being his Ministers; and finally he selected Mr. Mopington and Mr. Gapington as his Ministers for the Transferred Departments, as the Governor had experienced a considerable amount of difficulty in inducing any Indian Minister to accept without murmur the amounts allotted to the transferred departments. Let the

elected majority shout to any extent; Governor Fossilon and his members of the Executive Council paid no attention to their resolutions, protests and threats of re-signation of seats. When matters came to a climax in 1927, the Governor-in-Council sent a long despatch to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State pointing out the desirability of reverting to the days of Lord Cross' Act on the ground that the people were unfit for representative institutions, and the departments should be re-transferred or restored to the Executive Council, and specifying the names of certain elected members who had been making seditous use of certain proclamations dropped from enemy aeroplanes in the streets of Nagpur, and affixing a copy of the proclamation to the Memorandum; and an urgent communication was also sent to the Government of India for formal sanction to deport or intern or prosecute for sedition such of the elected members as were most mischievous, and made inflammatory speeches in the Legislative Council. The following extracts from the enemy Proclamation refer-

red to in the Memorandum would be found interesting :—

"Ye, citizens of India, Do not groan under British tyranny. We will confer Home-rule or Independence on your province. We do not want to retain your country, but want only commercial treaties. The following verdict on British Rule was passed as early as 1906 by that great impartial American Statesman Mr. W. J. Bryan :—

"If India has not yet been fit for free institutions, it is certainly not her fault. If, after one and a half centuries of British rule, India remains where she was in the Middle ages, what a sad commentary must it be upon the civilising influence of that rule! When the British came to India, India was the leader of Asiastic Civilisation and the undisputed centre of light in the Asiatic world. Japan was nowhere. In fifty years Japan has revolutionised her history with the aid of modern arts of progress; and India with 150 years of British rule is still condemned to tutelage. Japan the arbiter of her own destiny and the guardian of her own people, has in half a century bounded

from illiteracy to the premier position in the East, and is thought to be worthy to enter into Anglo-Japanese Alliance, while India condemned to political servitude and sacrificed for the commercial advantages of another nation, still sits in darkness."

"And the subordination of the industries of India to the supposed advancement of another nation's trade is as indefensible upon political and economic grounds as upon moral grounds."

"On the Ganges and the Indus, the Briton, in spite of his many noble qualities and his large contributions to the world's advancement, has demonstrated man's inability to exercise with wisdom and justice, irresponsible power over helpless people. He has conferred some benefits upon India, but he has extorted a tremendous price for them.'

"While he has boasted of bringing peace to the living, he has led millions to the peace of the grave. While he has restored order, he has impoverished the country by legalised pillage.

"How long will it be before the quickening conscience of England's Christian people will

heed the petition that swells up from fettered India, and apply to Britain's greatest Dependency the doctrines of human brotherhood."

The Governor was grieved to hear that such inflammatary proclamations from enemy aeroplanes were not destroyed then and there; but certain editors thought it fit to publish them in their newspapers. No doubt they were careful enough to publish leaders in their journals stating that the Mongols were a treacherous nation, and the horrible atrocities perpetrated by them in Northern Asia showed the true character of the invaders and their proclamations and treaties were mere scraps of paper. It was irritating to the Governor and his Council that not one word was written in justification of British rule as against the malicious attacks of Mr. W. J. Bryan. In the three Presidencies of Madras, Bombay and Calcutta which enjoyed self-government, war loans rose by leaps and bounds; and millions flocked voluntarily to enlist in the army. In his province the response was feeble and intermittent. The Governor called an urgent meeting of his Executive Council to consider the critical

situation. Mr. B. D. Hard I.C.S.,C.S.I., Mr Mulrojee Row C.I.E, and Mr. Facing-both-ways C.B.E., attended the meeting in the Council Chamber.

"Gentlemen, I have convened this urgent meeting to consider the present situation." Said the Governor. "The Memorandum has deen despatched to the Government of India with all the necessary enclosures. I do not know what His Excellency Lord Cotton would think of it. He had been trained in the sturdy principles of liberalism; and he has been appointed by the British Labour Cabinet. Times are out of joint; what shall we do to restore peace and order in our own province? I have forgotten to tell you about the latest successes of our forces. The telegrams are on the table. I have no fear that the Invading Army would ever reach Calcutta or Delhi; their days are numbered. We shall soon have to celebrate a day of national thanksgiving in commemoration of our victory. What about our troublesome fellows at home?"

Mr. B. D. Hard, after reading the telegrams, said: "So far they are satisfactory.

But I am panting for the day when it would be announced that the Tartar hordes had surrendered. Now, with regard to traitors at home, I say we shall adopt stern measures, and silence the whole gang. It was the late Lord Salisbury who declared that representative institutions were unsuited for the Eastern races ; his recipe of strong resolute government for Ireland for twenty years, might be safely applied in this stormy province with regard to the Asiatics ; our concessions, our leniency would be mistaken for indecision and weakness. We have reported to the Government of India that the transferred departments should be restored. In all probability orders would be received in a fortnight. Then I would lay out a plan before the Council for effectually curbing the activities of these hordes of sedition-mongers and home-rulers by stern and relentless prosecution, deportation, internment, externment, forfeiture of securities on a promiscuous scale, and suppression of seditious newspapers, proscribing all public meetings under the Seditious Meetings Act and the Defence of India Act. Let us wait for a fortnight. I would make it a model province."

"Personally I do not like your model provinces," said the Governor, "When I was first appointed to this province, I knew nothing of the people. You have been here for the last quarter of a century. I entirely relied on you, and signed as you directed me. My friends in England had informed me before starting for India that I must entirely rely on the Members of the Executive Council. I did so. What do I find? The province is in a state bordering on civil war. You want to rule it under a sort of martial law. How often I argued with you, and protested that the educated classes are the natural leaders of the people in every country; you posed as the guardian and trustee of the masses. Whenever there was friction with the Ministers for transferred departments, I advised you to yield to their wishes. But you had your own ideas of prestige, power and authority. I wanted to construe the Instrument of Instructions in a liberal way. But you said that instructions were intended as a sop to noisy demagogues, and never intended to be acted upon. That is the official practice you said. I had no other go but to yield to you. At first I expected that

the Indian member of the Executive Council would side me in the matter of any difference between you and me. He more often agreed with you than with me; so it came to pass that you both out-voted me in the Executive Council. I was absolutely powerless. Mr Facing-both-ways was invariably on your side; his views, ideals and stand points were almost the same as yours. So my liberalism vanished into the air. All my pious resolutions for playing the part of a constitutional ruler as in a self-governing colony, crumbled to dust. I sometimes think of resigning and going home."

"I deeply regret that such perverse views should dominate your mind at a time when the enemy is at our door," said Mr. B. D. Hard, "If you had been appointed to a self-governing colony or province like Madras or Bombay, you might have been a constitutional ruler, and found inexhaustible pleasure in being a signing machine, revelling in laying foundation stones or unveiling statues, and regularly drawing your salary for discharging the onerous duties of signing all documents placed before you by your

ministers. But the Montagu Scheme left the power and the responsibility on the shoulders of the Governor and his Executive Council. We cannot shirk our duties and responsibilities imposed upon us by law. I would request you to read carefully the Montagu-Chelmsford Report on Constitutional Reforms, and the subsequent enactment passed embodying the proposals therein; you would see that the bureaucratic character of the administration is not changed; and certain opportunities are given to elected members for getting themselves trained in the art of popular government. We have been exercising our rights and privileges under the scheme. You complain that we have not surrendered our rights to irresponsible recruits and wind-bags who would have made a mess of the whole thing; you say that the educated classes are the natual leaders of the people. It might be so in England or America; not so in this country. The ignorant and illiterate ryot wants that the British should always rule the country, and has no respect or regard for Indian administrators. How else could it be? These

so-called leaders are mostly lawyers, and have no influence whatsoever on the masses. No good thing can come out of them. I would even go to the length of saying that the educated classes have not changed the course of world's history anywhere."

"I see you have forgotten all your history when you became a member of the Indian Civil Service," rejoined the Governor, "By whom were revolutions brought about in France, England or America? It was the educated few who ordered the hanging of Charles I, and brought about the revolution in England in 1688. It was the educated few who were the authors of the French Revolution, and guillotined the French King. It was the educated few who declared the war of American War of Independence. What is the fun of your declaring that in this country alone that the educated few are not the natural leaders of the people and have no influence over them. Indians are as much human beings as ourselves. In every democratic or enlightened country lawyers predominate in legislative assemblies; it is but natural. Those who studied law,

and have been trained as lawyers would naturally exert influence in any assembly which sits for making laws, reforming or revising the laws of the realm. As far as I can see, your fault and the fault of those who think like you lies in mistaking human weaknesses, and human frailties for national ones."

Mr. Mulrojee Row intervened at this stage and said: "No doubt, lawyers wield enormons influence in every legislative assembly. But in this country all your generalisations are made subject to the influence of caste. The system is rotten and indefensible. Neverthless its influence pervades every strata of Indian society. Therefore you are wrong, Sir, in your conclusions. As an Indian, I would like that Indian society was not permeated by the artificial distinctions of caste. It is this vicious factor which falsifies your conclusions."

"Certainly not, Mr. Mulrojee Row," the Governor continued "I am old enough to perceive the fallacy of your contentions. I have lived in England, Ireland, America, France and South Africa. Compare the eternal

conflict between the Catholic and the Protestant in Ireland, the ever-increasing strife between the French Catholic Canadian, and the British Protestant Canadian, the frequent friction between the Boer and the Britain in South Africa, and the yawning gulf between a Negro or coloured voter and the white voter in the United States of America; your caste difference pales into insignificance before such terrible instances of social cleavage. Further caste differences do not end in bloodshed and murder. It is convenient to throw the bogey of caste over an educated Indian who pants for liberty in his own country. Further you find that in Madras, Bombay and Calcutta the administration is carried on healthy lines. I feel sure that with the increasing influence of education and enlightened administration such differences will gradually disappear."

"I agree with our Governor", said Mr. Facing-both-ways who had been a silent spectator till now, "that education is a great levelling agency pulling down, and pulling up, levelling and merging all social distinctions. I hear that a deputation of twenty

elected members headed by Mr. D. Abhiman will go to Calcutta to lay down their grievances at the foot of the throne. They have drawn up a petition, I am told, and had it printed, requesting the Viceroy to grant Home-Rule Assemblies as at Calcutta and Madras, and complaining that the scheme of Mr. Montagu was too complicated, too impracticable and intricate to suit modern requirements. I am trying to get a copy of the petition. I think It would be advisable to depute Mr. Hard to Calcutta for controverting their statements; otherwise *ex parte* judgment might be passed condemning the scheme. The controversy has reached an acute stage in Nagpore. It should not be condemned unheard."

Mr. B. D. Hard, I.C.S., said that they had already sent a despatch with a memorandum suggesting that, as the province was in a very backward condition, and a few noisy agitators had rendered the harmonious working of the scheme impossible, the Legislative Councils with elected members might be abolished, and a Legislative Council on the lines of Lord Cross' Act of 1892 might be reconsti-

tuted with a few well-chosen elected members for official guidance. He thought that no personal representations were needed under the stress of war.

Mr. Mulrojee Row C.I.E. agreed with Mr. D. Hard, and did not like the idea of meeting frothy agitators face to face, thus placing themselves on a level with them. The Governor thought a personal representation would be preferable.

Mr. Hard I.C.S., finding that he might be out-voted in the Executive Council, suggested that the subject might be dropped for the present. He said that, after seeing the petition, they would be in a position to say whether any unfounded statements were made in the petition and whether it would be necessary to contradict them. He further offered to send for Mr. D. Abhiman, and ascertain the truth of the information.

While they were engaged in such a desultory talk, Mr. D. Abhiman arrived, and forwarded a petition to the Viceroy requesting the Governor to transmit it formally. The Governor was also informed that a copy of

their Petition of Rights had been posted to the Viceroy.

"You call it a Petition of Rights," said Mr. Hard, "It is strange you have christened it so."

"It is nothing strange, Sir. India is the land of my birth. I want to breathe the fresh air of liberty in my own country. I do not want to be under perpetual tutelage, and be in the leading strings of an alien bureaucracy in my mother-land. The present atmosphere of racial inferiority is choking our life, sapping our vitality, and curbing all our manly self-respect" was the vehement riply of Mr. Abhiman.

"How often will you say it?" asked Mr. Hard.

"As long as my life lasts, till we gain our liberty" replied Mr. Abhiman.

The Governor advised him not to be excited, and promised to send his petition to the Viceroy.

Later in the day, the Governor received an urgent telegraphic communication from

the Viceroy, acknowledging the receipt of the Despatch suggesting constitutional changes, and also intimating that a Petition of Rights signed by twenty elected members of the Nagpore Legislative Council had been transmitted to him direct, and a Deputation of the members requested an interview with the Viceroy and his Council. Permission was granted, and 25th has been fixed for hearing the Deputation. The telegram suggested the desirability of deputing Mr. D. Hard the Senior Member of the Executive Council to Calcutta for helping the Viceroy.

CHAPTER VIII.

Long Live Montagu Scheme.

I.

A meeting of the Legislative Council was to be held in Nagpur to consider the critical situation rising from the strained relations subsisting between the elected members of the Assembly and the Executive Council of the Governor of the Central Provinces. The Governor Sir S. D. Fossilon had rendered meritorious services to the State by holding several high appointments in the colonial service, and was on the eve of his retirement. When he was pressed to accept the governorship at Nagpore, it was rather tempting; and he yeilded to the pressure of the Labour Ministry. After reading the Montagu-Chelmsford Report and the Parliamentary Act passed thereon, setting up a transitional stage of Responsible Government at Nagpur and Lahore, Sir S. D. Fossilon thought that it must be a very original and novel plan of training a people in the art of responsible

government by successive stages, promoting them from one form to a higher form, or depromoting them for laziness, indolence or inborn stupidity; its academic flavour he did not relish; he feared it was highly impractible and complicated, and would lead to incessant friction and frequent deadlocks. How could you dismember, split, or divide an administration into two parts, one part controlled by officials and the other part controlled by people's elected representatives? —was the insoluable problem often presenting itself before his mind's eye on his embarkation for India in 1922. His knowledge of ancient, medieval, or modern histories would not help him at all in unravelling the intricacies of the Montagu labyrinth. He admitted at the India Office that it was a riddle to him to dissect an administration into two parts apparently conflicting with diverse and irreconcilable interests and ideals. On some occasions it appeared to him transparently absurd, illogical, and quixotic in its aims. Nevertheless it was passed by the British Parliament; and he was also assured that

experienced officers of the Indian Civil Service would help him as his colleagues, and he might safely rely on their good sense and discretion. After such assurances from many quarters, he started for India.

Mr. S. D. Hard I.C.S., C.S.I. was the Senior Member of the Council; he had an exalted opinion of his extra-ordinary abilities, and unrivalled experience. When he opened his mouth in the Executive Council or the Legislative Council, he would not relish the idea of any native or official questioning or contradicting his opinions. The Governor had to nominate him as the Vice-President of the Council. As there was an elected majority in the council he was sometimes hard pressed to secure a majority in matters relating to the Transferred Departments. When the Council passed any resolutions on any matter pertaining to the reserved subjects, he consigned them to the waste-paper Basket, as it had been statutorily declared that its resolutions were only recommendations. If they emanated from wise men, they would be entitled to respect from the experienced

experts of the Indian Civil Service. He thought that, if a set of fools and idiots, were to recommend that the moon should be shining on all days throughout nights, the members of the Indian Civil Service could not be expected to pay heed to such recommendations. He was also obstinate on another matter. The Indians had been claiming for the Legislative control over the Executive. To put it in other words, the natives elected by natives wanted to be masters over the European members of the Indian Civil Service. How could such s preposterous claim be tolerated for a moment? Happily such a claim of control was negatived. If it were not so, he would have been the first to resign his appointment rather serve under Prabhans, and Abhimans. He feared that the new meeting of the Council on the present military situation would be a strong one; and he was rather glad that the old fool the Governor wanted to preside over the council. He often felt that India was becoming too hot for him on account of the mischievous attitude of native agitators; after completing his fifty-fifth year he would

not beg for extensions, but book his passage home by the next available steamer. Further it was a great mortifiation to him, that, though his name had been strongly recommended for knighthood by the Governor year after year, the gods at Olympus paid no attention to such repeated recommendations. He had made up his mind to ask the Viceroy personally when an opportunity presented itself on the next occasion. He fully realized that "at Home" knighthood had some social privileges; it would secure a considerable amount of influence in high society. It was one of his fixed resolutions to secure a seat in the House of Commons, and weild influence over Parliament and he could become a representative for India in the Imperial Conference. No one could definitely say that a brilliant future awaited him on retiring from the wretched service; his talents were wasted in the desert-air and unsettled tracts of India. Some of his official Minutes were lauded to the skies for their style by many respectable organs of public opinion edited by his own countrymen such as the Nagpur Oracle, the Madras Thunderer, the Calcutta

Vilifier, the Allahabad Sappers and Miners, the Punjab Croaker and the Rangoon Brayer. On several occasions the Governor Fossilon complimented him on his masterly style, and was of deliberate opinion that some of his passages would be taken for Macaulay's.

Mr- Fancing-both-ways I. C. S., C. I. E., was not such a brilliant member of the service. His abilities were respectable; he had no fanaticism or fervid devotion in espousing any cause or expressing any opinion on any matter in the earth below, the Heavens above or waters under the earth. His sweet temper, his unfailing tact, his wonderful powers of compromise, his passionate love for amicable settlements and his devotion for peace-making, have endeared him to all alike. During thirty years of service, he was never known to have offended anybody, not even his dog or his chauffeur; He had changed his name before he competed for the Civil Service; his previous name was Muddle-head.

Mr. Isaac Dahomey I. C. S. was another brilliant member of the Indian Civil Service. He presided over the revenue department.

The standing orders of the Board of Revenue, and various revenue regulations and Government orders or G. Os. were as familiar to him as his own fingers. In departmental notes placed before him for orders, he could easily trace any error in the twinkling of an eye, and quote the appropriate order relating to the matter; under the Montagu Scheme, he had a double nuisance to deal with, one above him, the other below. The Standing Committee appointed from the Legislative Council proved a set of meddlesome novices in revenue administration; he often resented their officious interference born of ignorance; he would simply nod his head over their silly recommendations or advice; he would carry on the revenue administration in his own way, uninfluenced by the so-called advice of the Standing Committee; it was not legally binding on him: the Governor and his executive council were his masters; he never cared a pin for the recommendations or resolutions of the Legislative council, or the periodical dose of advice from the know-nothings of the Standing Committee. In the revenue ad-

ministration he was supposed to have been helped by an Under-secretary recruited from the elected members. Mr. Dahomey always kept him *under* him, and never allowed him to interfere with the normal course of the administration. Some needy place-hunter posing as a patriot would get into the council for accepting such lucrative appointments. His grumbling, if any, could easily be stopped by conferring some appointments on his relations. Mr. Dahomey realized that the case would have been different if full responsible government had been set up in Nagpur as in the Presidency towns. Then Standing Committees of popular assemblies would exercise real influence over the departments under their critical supervision. If the orders of the Committee were not enforced, the elected Minister in charge of the department, would hurl fire and brimstone on the recalcitrant or obstinate heads of department. As the Executive was not subordinate to the Legislative, Mr. Dahomey had his own way of administering his department; in his opinion the Legislative council was only a talking shop, a big

factory of elocution, manufacturing laws and regulations chiefly for such transferred departments. He had many interviews with Mr. Hard the Executive member on such matters. "*Sit tight*" was the invariable advice or order of Mr. Hard. If the Governor had been young, energetic, and enthusiastic about his duties, there would have been some trouble in the departments. Under the present regime of Governor Fossilon, everything went on regularly undisturbed by any extraneous influence originating in the council. All the important departments of Government such as law, justice, police and land revenue, were absolutely secured against any external inroads from the council in respect of any new legislation or matter of supplies. The minor departments were sacrificed at the altar of noisy chronic agitation. They were given away as a sop to the Cerberus of Congress Leagues. Mr. Dahomey I.C.S. had unmitigated contempt in dealing with transferred subjects or minor concerns of the State, Mr. Hard was his guide, philospher and friend.

Mr. Kilimanjaro Josephus, I C.S. was the

Inspector-General of Police, and the Director-General of the Criminal Investigation Department. He was the presiding genius over the two departments. When he was acting as Collector of Jabbalpur, he was transferred to the Police Department. He cheerfully accepted the post of Deputy-Inspector-General of Police. He purchased a dozen books on Detection and Criminal Investigation and some French detective novels. By his own sheer merit, and knowledge of detective novel he soon rose to the headship of the Department. As Director-General of the Criminal Investigation Department or D.G.C.I.D. as he was familiarly known, he came to loggerheads with some fussy patriots of the Council. When some unpleasant interpellations were put, or some awkward resolutions were sought to be passed, he had to indent on those magical words,—"detrimental to public interests, "prejudicial to public safety." The idle curiosity of some busybody in the Council would be appeased or satisfied by such official incantations. On one occasion the Minister of the toy parliament for transferred subjects, trespassed on the close

preserve of Reserved Subjects, and called for certain papers which had some unpleasant correspondence about some internees. He had recourse to the new patent of Montagu about "Peace, order, and good government," and the papers were refused by Mr. Hard on the ground that their non-disclosure was necessary for peace, order, and good government, and their publication would be detrimental to public interests, and public safety required their non-publicity. All voices were hushed. The Governor and his Executive Council or to speak more accurately Mr. Hard who was the *de facto* Government of Nagpur, was unstinting in his budget allotments for C.I.D; and they were increasing by leaps and bounds year after year. It was on that ground that the detective talents of Mr. K. Josephus were displayed to the utter discomfiture of the cheeky members of the Council, and the whole squadrons of political agitators, impatiant idealists, sedition-mongers and policical irreconcilales. For such eminent services Mr. Josephus was recommended for the knight companionship of the most exalted order of the British Empire. There was some Devil

at the Himalayan heights that would seem to throw some insuperable obstacles. Mr. Hard accounted for the delay to the sinister influence of the Imperial Minister for Home Affairs who was once a rabid Congress-wallah; and Lord Cotton was clay in the hands of his ministers; he was easily pulled by the nose by his Imperial Cabinet.

Mr. Vasiline Brampole I. C. S. was the Secretary for Judicial affairs. He had been called to the bar at the Central Inn of Benchers. He expected high Judicial preferment; but he was shunted on the executive line on account of his transcendental grip over the technicalities of Law, and his super-human knowledge and vigour in dealing with delicate situations. When the question of separation of executive from magisterial functions was hotly discussed in the council, and a bill was brought in, it was the valuable co-operation and strategic manœuvres of Mr. Brampole that enabled Mr. Hard to tide over the difficulty. The idea of deferring the matter by a notification first originated in the fertile brain of Mr. Brampole. Mr. Hard predicted that Mr.

Brampole would one day become the Advocate-General of Nagpur, if not the Attorney-General in England.

The meeting of the Legislative Council was held in the Nagpur Council Hall when Sir S. D. Fossilon G. C. I. E.. G. C. S. I. and G. C. B. E., K. I. C. presided over the meeting. 76 members were present. Mr. D. Hard I.C.S., C.S.I., Mr. Mulroji Row M.L.C., Mr. F. B. Ways I.C.S., C.I,S,. Mr. Isaac Dahomey I.C.S., Mr. K. Josephus I.C.S., Mr. V. Brampole I. C. S., Bat- at law, Mr. Mopington M. L. C., Mr. Gapington M. L. C., Mr. D. Abhiman M. L. C., Mr. Janapriya M. L. C. and several other leading members were present.

The Secretary reported that the assent of the Viceroy was refused to the Bill for the better regulation of Public Meetings passed in the last session. As regards the Magisterial Supervision Bill, the Viceroy has declared on appeal that the Executive Council was right in its view that the Bill related to a reserved subject. The Government of India expressed its opinions that the Government of Nagpur should not often

resort to the expedient or the agency of the Grand Committee, and the certificate of peace, order, and good government, whenever it was apprehended that the Legislative Council might not pass such measures; it would be more expedient to drop such legislation not acceptable to the elected representatives of the people, and the special agency of the Grand Comittee should be availed of only in rare exceptional cases.

Mr. Hard objected to the Secretary reading the communications received from the Government of India in the meeting and the Secretary stopped reading them.

Then the interpellations were gone through. Mr. Hard intervened and said that there were 425 interpellations referring to all sorts of matters under the sun; he would have disallowed half of them, lest such a rejection might form another item in the impeachment of the Government before the Viceroy. It was a matter of profund regret to him that several members have abused the right. The right of putting supplementary questions not only by those interpellating, but by others not concerned with it, was another

source of vexatious interference with effecient discharge of administrative duties, and an awful waste of public time. Mr. Abhiman suggested to the Council that Mr. Hard might reserve his lectures on abuse of interpellations for other occasions when they would be happy to hear his sweet discourse on autocracy, and the present rules do not permit running commentaries on the answers given by the official members. The President said:

"Let there be no interruptions. Let us proceed with the interpellations"

Mr. Kirtikar M. L. C.

(132) Will the Government be pleased to state (*a*) whether there was any truth in the statsments published in the *Nagpur Home Ruler* in the last month about the rude behaviour of a European Officer towards the Rajah of Bastar at Raipur Railway station and (*b*) whether any steps had been taken to prevent such regettable occurences.

Mr. Hard,

It is not one of the duties of Government to ascertain the truth or

falsity of statements made in newspapers. No interpellations should be put in this Council about the foreign policy or the Political Department of the Government of India. Under the Montagu Scheme, all ruling chiefs are placed directly under the Supreme Gevernment. The member is reminded that this Council is working under the Montagu Scheme.

The answer to the second part of the question is in the negative.

Mr. Janapriya M. L. C.

(178) Will the Government be pleased to state the reasons why the District Magistrate of Akola has instituted criminal proceedings against six legal practitioners who are the leaders of Akola bar, calling on them to furnish security of 10,000 rupees each for their good behaviour,for one year?

Mr. Hard said it would be inexpedient to discuss the policy of Government in the Council on account of the war situation and the answering of it would be detrimental to public interests. When legal remedies are available to all such aggrieved parties, it is

ruinous waste of public time to put such unnecessary questions. The object of the interpellating member is probably to intimidate the Magistrate conducting the enquiry in the interests of pure and unsullied administration of Justice.

Mr. Janapriya protested that it was a michievous insinuation; such unjustified imputations of motives are unworthy of the members of the Indian Civil Service.

The President regretted that the atmosphere had become heated already, and requested the members to exercise restraint on their emotions.

Mr. Janapriya said: "I did not begin it, sir, when I found that the leaders of the bar are arraigned before a criminal tribunal as habitual offenders, I am bound to bring it to the notice of the Council with a view to see that Justice is done.'

Mr. Trilokar M. L. C.

(200) Will the Government be pleased to state (a) whether it was true that the Sub-Divisional Magistrate of Ellichpur issued an

order under the Defence of India Act on the *Ellichpur Chronicle* requiring him to submit all his articles to the local Censor before printing and publishing them in his paper; whether the Government have approved of such orders calculated to suppress free criticism, and stifle public opinion, and (b) whether it is true that the same officer sought an interview with the Proprietor of the *Ellichpur Observer*, and ordered him not to print any newspapers in his printing office for a period of three years, and intimidated him, saying that any disobedience would entail on him the confiscation of the plant and machinery besides a criminal prosecution for sedition.

Mr. Hard.

The answer to the first part as well as the 2nd part is in the affirmative.

M. Kirtikar

I ask you, Sir, whether your Government has approved of such orders of Prussianism.

The President pointed out that such unparliamentary language should not be used.

Mr. Hard said he had nothing further to add.

Mr. Abhiman: "You have not made any statement at all except a monosyallabic word; and you further say you have nothing further to add. I say it is trifling with the Council, and the statutory rights of interpellation of members."

Mr. F. B. Ways I. C. S. expressed his opinion to his colleagues confidentially that all those difficulties would not have arisen if the question had been disallowed as being detrimental to the public interests.

Mr. Lokanath M. L. C.

(77) Will the Government be pleased to issue orders ordering the removal of Punitive Police in the Taluq of Bilaspur considering that such Police have been quartered through misapprehension and panic caused by the drunken brawl of a few incorrigible rowdies who killed one another in a public tavern?

Mr. Kilimanjaro Josephus I. C. S.

The answer is in the negative. The member has put the interpellation through an

unpardonable misapprehension of the real facts of the situation. I may also remark that the member is personally interested in the removal of the Punitive Police in the native town.

Mr. Swarajya:

It is such uncalled for remarks that provoke a controversy. The President should warn his illustrious colleagues not to provoke controversies by spiteful answers.

Mr. Lokanath:

It is true, sir, It is my native town. When I am a member of this council, it is my sacred duty to see that my native town is not ruthlessly penalized and sacrificed to Police Zoolum. The atrocious crime of having been born in a certain town should not disentitle me to safe-guard its interests.

The President: Let us proceed.

Mr. Trimbakji M. L, C,

(150) Will the Government be pleased to state the reasons why it was thought fit to confiscate under the Post Office Act all copies of the '*Dravidian Home Ruler*'

and proscribe its circulation in this province?

Mr. Mopington M. L. C.

The reasons for stopping the diffusion of poisonous literature are as clear as day-light. It is a scurrilous paper preaching Home Rule all round. It has recently published a number of articles advocating constitutional changes in this province, suggesting that. as the Montagu Scheme had proved an utter failure resulting in an incessant friction and dead-locks, a Home-rule Parliment should be set up soon here. Could rank sedition go further? The calm political atmosphere fostered by Government, is seriously disturbed by such papers. For such weighty reasons the paper has been stopped. The Government thought of prosecuting the paper for sedition in Nagpur dragging the Editor from the South; but they have refrained from taking such drastic measures. The Editor, and his patron here must feel thankful to Government. The interpellation is the measure of their gratitude.

Mr. Trimbakji:

I am astounded at the answer given; I have asked for reasons which have been given with brutal candour and bluntness. I have been charged with ingratitude. I feel constrained to furnish a personal explanation to the Council. The working of the Montagu scheme has not brought a calm atmosphere, but caused a terrific storm. The substantial steps taken in the progressive realisation of responsible Government have resulted in the selection of Mopingtons and Gapingtons as Ministers for transferred subjects on behalf of the elected representatives of the Couneil.

The President: You cannot make a speech on an interpellation. If you have any personal explanation to offer, I have no objection to it.

Mr. Trimbakji:

Yes, sir. I say I have written those articles in the Journal you complain of. You should not prosecute its Editor. I take the responsibility on my shoulders. I

challenge you to proscute me. The cup will be filled to the brim then.

It may be that, by my suffering in the service of the mother, the cause of liberty might progress in this province, and the aca-demic scheme of Mr. Montagu bristling with bureaucratic devices for perpetuating the era of Prussiansism in my mother-land—that impracticable and unworkable scheme would be exposed in all its ugly nudity.

I am prepared to face the prosecution or presecution for the sake of my father-land.

Mr. Hard I. C. S.

You have no occasion to pose as a martyr. We have pardoned you.

Mr. Abhiman

I emphatically protest that Mr. Hard should not be so hard-hearted as to make caustic sneers at that earnest soul.

The President:

I regret very much that the answers to every interpellation results in a discus-sion. The rules are violated—

Mr, Abhiman:

By your trusted councillor who has sneered at a member who has been allowed by the President to make a personal explanation.

The President:

Let us go on with the next interpellation.

Mr. Vinayak M. L. C.

(151) (*a*) Will the Government be pleased to state whether the privilege of electing their Chairman and President has been taken away from the Municipality of Gilgaon 'and its District and Taluq Boards? ,

(*b*) Will the Governmsnt be pleased to state or declare its policy on the development of Local Self-Government, stating the reasons why it has deviated from the policy laid down by Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu?

Mr. Gapington M. L. C.

The answer to the first part is affirmative, and the second part, negative.

Mr. Vinayak.

I am entitled to know why it has deviated

from the liberal policy laid down by those statesmen.

Mr. Gapington:

The Government sees no deviation.

Mr. Hard:

I shall supplement the answer, as the Member has recently taken the portfolio of Local self-government. On account of the conspiracy among the elected Indian members not to accept office under the Crown, and be Ministers in charge of transferred subjects, the Government had to request the members representing planting and mining interests, who have accepted them, eliciting our admiration for their public spirit.

Mr. Vinayak has not read the statute law, and the Joint Report of Montagu-Chelmsford. He ignored the words "as far as possible" "fullest *possible* independence" from outside control. Under the existing law the Government has such powers. If a local board or municipality is wilfully perverse, persistently obstructive, and incessantly factious, its powers might be curtailed by the Local

Government. Mr Abhiman or Mr. Swarajya, being Indians, might not complain, or put up with municipal perversity, and factious fights. Messrs Mopington and Gapington who are the Ministers in charge of the transferred subjects. have summarily dealt with incompetent Boards, with the approval of the Governor. So the charge of deviation falls to the ground.

The President:

Again I say that only answers should be given to interpellations; You make speeches in answering questions,

Mr. Hard:

It is sheer necessity. The policy of Government has been ruthlessly impugned. I cannot be sitting here with folded hands or gaping mouth when members hurl unfounded charges on our heads, I am bound to protest and remove their ignorance on the real nature of our work.

Mr. Ganpatrai M. L. C.

(300) Will the Government be pleased to state (a) whether it has forfeited the security of 1000 Rs from the printer, and

publisher of the *Lohara Express* by passing an order of forfeiture under the Press Act, (b) whether a fresh order has been served by the Magistrate imposing a fresh security of 20,000 rupees, and (c) the journal has been stopped on account of its inability to furnish such an exorbitant and prohibitive amount as security.

Mr. Hard:

I shall answer it. The answer to (a) is affirmative, (b) yes (c) The Government have no information that the paper has been stopped; and the security demanded has not yet been furnished.

Mr. Ganpatrai:

Why such a prohibitive sum has been demanded?

Mr. Hard:

Such matters pertain to the discretion of magistrates who, conversant with local conditions, and being responsible for the peace, order and good government of their local areas, pass the orders they think fit. Their discretion should not be fettered by Government.

Mr. Kumara Chand M. L. C.

(400) Will the Government be pleased to state whether, under the Seditious Meeting Act recently introduced by a notification in the local Gazette, the Home Rule Leagues numbering 70 in the province have been declared unlawful asssociations: and members have been forbidden from holding any meetings, or delivering lectures under the auspices of such leagues, and whether the Government will be pleased to reconsider the notification and revoke it on account of the present war situation.

Mr. Hard;

The Government after mature consideration have declared Home Rule Leagues as seditious. I reserve further remarks, as there is a resolution to be moved to-day.

401 Will the Government be pleased to state the reasons for restricting the political activities of Mr. Malik Ali of Jabbalpur by passing an order under the Defence of India Act prohibiting him from delivering any public addresses or lectures for one year, and another similar order on Mr. Nana Damodhar of Narasinghpur.

Mr. Hard:

It is true such orders have been passed. I have carefully perused the records sent to me from the C. I. Department., and sanctioned the orders. Personally I would favour their deportation under the old Regulations, or order of externment under the Defence of India Act.

Mr. Abhiman:

Oh! Liberty, where hast thou flown? When the Montagu Scheme was introduced into this province, it was fondly believed that a substantial part of popular and responsible government had been set up, and an era of liberty and prosperity had been ushered in. Alas! What a painful contrast. The old bureaucratic regime continues as brisk as ever with transferred and reserved departments and Grand Committees, and Ministers.

Mr. Trilokekar M. L. C.

(355) Will the Government be pleased to state whether the order passed last year by Mr. Swarajya as Minister for the transferred subject of education opening fifty Primary Schools in three Southern districts has been

cancelled by Mr. Gapington on the plea of want of funds; and another similar order for opening two technological institutes has also been revoked on similar pleas.

Mr. Gapington M. L. C.

It is true that I had to cancel them for want of funds. I was informed by the Under-Secretary for Education that it was the intention of Mr. Swarajya for fighting for higher grants from the Governor at the time of budget allotment. On account of subsequent strained relations, extra amounts were not procured from the Governor on account of the stern opposition of the Executive Councillors. So it was that the orders were cancelled. I think Mr. Swarajya will corroborate me in the matter.

Mr. Swarajya:

I am not bound to corroborate anybody Mr. Gapington or Mopington.

Mr. Mopington:

I strongly protest against such silly sneering remarks.

The President:

I stop further discussion on the question.

As the interpellations are over, we shall proceed with the main business of the day. The first resolution on the sinews of war, and man-power will be moved by Mr. Hard. I may announce at the out-set that the latest telegrams from the front are very hopeful. The hostile forces have been hemmed in by our forces which advanced from Rangoon and Akyab, Kabul and Delhi. The cruel, relentless, and barbarous Tartar has been nearly brought to book. It is just possible that fresh armies may invade India; we must guard the gates and station a strong force at Bhamo to prevent any further on-rush of the Mongols. I would make a special request to the Indian members to sink all their differences and rise to the full stature of their manhood, and present a united front to the invading hosts. I need say no more. I call upon Mr. Hard to move the resolution.

Mr. Hard:

Gentlemen, I beg to move a resolution first, and then bring in a bill based on the resolution. In the military efforts made by Indians, our province has lagged behind, far behind the other provinces. It would be

rather unpleasant if I were to narrate the causes that led to such deplorable results. Lest it might lead to bitter controversies, I shall refrain from the unsavoury task of tracing the causes of our small contributions in men and money. At such a time as the present when the Mongol hordes have entered our threshold, and are furiously knocking at our doors, it would be suicidal if we fritter away our national energies in our domestic quarrels; nay it would be criminal if we squander our strength in domestic brawls.

"I shall read the resolution first:

"That in view of the present military situtation it has become absolutely necessary to contribute a sum of fifty crores of rupees to the Imperial Exchequer, and to raise an army of half a million troops, train and equip them as early as possible either by voluntary enlistment,, or a modified form of conscription as adopted in Madras."

"The resolution will commend itself to you. No eloquence or argumentative reasoning or sweet pursuasiveness would be found necessary to secure the enthusiastic and

unanimous acceptance of the Legislative Council. As loyal subjects of His Majesty, we should realise the danger that lies a-head and appreciate the necessity, the urgency, nay the emergency of facing the danger by redoubling our efforts for the successful prosecution of the war. You must remember that the country invaded "by the Chinese is India, not those distant isles in the far west to which I am proud to belong. If you are apathetic and indifferent, and slacken your efforts, you will rue the day when personal considerations and domestic quarrels domineered over your mind, blinded your vision, blunted your patriotism, and sapped your loyalty to the throne. I would earnestly appeal to you all to forgive and forget all our past misunderstandings, all our petty factious fights, all our rankling animosities, all our enraged passions and all our outraged feelings. I shall not be satisfied by merely passing the resolution. We must strain every nerve to raise the necessary men and money. I feel sure that without any opposition or amendment it will be passed unanimously. I have heard

that some attempts will be made to modify or dilute the resolution by amendments. "I am aware that a notice of amedment has been given by one whom I may be permitted to describe as the Leader of the House who commands a majority. I would say this is no time for bargaining or huckstering. After we have driven the enemy from our country, we shall settle our quarrels amicably. I trust that he will reconsider the matter in the light of the appeal I have made, and adjourn his fight for constitutional changes to some future occasion when we celebrate our victories over the Mongols."

Mr. Mulrojee Row M. L. C.

I heartily second the proposition. As an Indian, as a loyal subject of His Majesty the King-Emperor, as a citizen of the British Empire, I appeal to my countrymen that we must make amends for the past remissness, we must atone for our past neglect and we must make reparation for our past lethargy. I need not now narrate to you the inestimable benefits of British rule. "But for the humanitarian policy of Britain in educating the people of India, broadening

their out-look, enlarging their mental horizon, opening new vistas of life, liberalizing, elevating, ennobling and exalting the people to a higher, and nobler plane of aims, ideals and aspirations,—but for such a liberal policy worthy of her high traditions of liberty, equality and fraternity, there would have been no congresses, no leagues, and no conferences. The Mongols would have made short work of them. Instead of wasting our national energy, instead of dissipating our talents in drawing a fine line of demarcation between transferred and reserved subjects, we should concentrate all our attention, focus all our anxieties and cares on one central theme of vigourous prosecution of the war, and rally all our forces under the banner of Liberty. I ask you one plain question: will you be a Tartar slave or a British citizen? I pause for an answer. "There can be only one response from all loyal subjects of the king and from all true lovers of liberty. I would ask my distinguished countryman who is the acknowledged leader of the House, I would implore him, and beg of

him on my bended knees to foget and forgive all our past quarrels, and have this resolution passed with enthusiastic unanimity without any amendment or modification what so ever. I freely admit that during the last four years, there was incessant fighting' never-ending strife about reserved and transferred subjects, Grand Committees and gubernatorial certificates. Let the past be past; let the dead bury the dead; let us look to the living present; let us face the imminent danger. The Mongol is flourshing the Damocles' sward of slavery hanging over our heads. Let us ward off the danger and cut it to pieces by acting in concert, in harmonious co-operation, by our strong steady purpose by our iron determination, and stern resolution.

Mr. Mopington M. L. C.

Said: Gentlemen, I am a plain planter not given to oratory like my friend who has just finished his speech. I support the resolution with all my heart, with all my soul, and with all my strength and with all the money I can spare in these days of high wages and high prices, in these days of pro-

fiteering and labour leagues. I hope the other side will not give us any trouble.

Mr. Gapington M. L. C.

Gentlemen, I support the resolution. as I am minister selected by the Governor, I confess I feel as a square man in a round hole. I hope the Governor and Mr. Hard will find a substitute and relieve me of my duties. Mr. Mopington is in the same miserable predicament; he would like to be relieved. ('You can speak for yourself said Mr. Mopington) yes. I have nothing further to add. I gladly support it. They say they fear opposition. Damn it. I do not like it (On a hint from Mr Hard who pulled him by his coat, Mr. Gapington collapsed and resumed his seat.)

Mr. D. Abhiman.

Gentlemen, before I move my amendment of which I have given due notice in accordance with the rules, I should like to offer a few remarks by way of answering the previous speakers. The mover with sword in one hand, and an olive branch in the other has made a pathetic appeal for unity and

harmonious co-operation, as if we wanted to promote discord, stir up strife, and widen the gulf that is yawning between the official and the non-official members. If an earnest and genuine offer is made by members responsible for the present cleavage, I would be the first to extend my hand of fellowship, and shake hands with fraternal greeting and embrace our erring brothers in cordial amity and ecstacies of joy. The laboured performance of the junior member of the Executive Council, was worthy of the author and his illustrious antecedents. It had a ludicrous dramatic tinge, a certain amount of æsthatic legerdemain, which had raised our drooping spirits, and infused into us hope and joy that our Mulrojee too would sometimes pass for our orator. His little dry-as-dust sermon about the benefits of British Rule and pax-Brittanica was based on the false assumption that those who did not agree with him or vote with him in the same Lobby, were all disloyal traitors, veiled seditionists whose crooked and perverted minds did not appreciate and realize the beneficent work of Britain in India. England has laid educated

India under an eternal debt of gratitude by lifting her up to take her proper place in the comity of nations. Gratitude is ordained by our Shastras. Gratitude is ingrained in our nature. While being grateful to our rulers in Britain, we cannot allow their agents here to ride rough-shod over our liberties and privileges, to inaugurate and perpetuate an era of coercion and oppression, and to adopt the models of Russian and Prussian methods of chronic misrule, and legalised slavery. In the days of early viceroys like Ripon and Lansdowne, there was greater personal liberty in India. In those days when there were no elected members of legislative councils, there was no Press Act, no seditious Meetings Act, no Defence of India Act, and no deportation regulations enforced. "What do we find now? The bureaucratic agents of the British Democracy have betrayed the trust reposed in them, and converted India into a Russian province. Editors are briddled and curbed; they are branded as habitual offenders, and securities are demanded for their good behaviour; public speakers are muzzled; truth is no justification on a charge for sedition; personal

liberties of even private persons are restrained; all attempts at free and compulsory education are snubbed. The elected majority for the Legislative Council under the Montagu Scheme affords no protection against systematic encroachments on popular liberties. During the last eight years of the Legislative Council under his scheme, the position of the Indian Minister was anomalous; with all his majority in the Council he could not raise his little finger to help the poor famished ryot against the periodical inroads of the Settlement departments; he could not remove the terrible anomalies consequent on the combination of magisterial and revenue functions in one and the same individual; he could not confer the inestimable boon of free education on millions of his illiterate countrymen; when public men are interned, when leading journals are harassed, when free expression of opinion is sought to be suppressed, and when C. I. D. men rule over the land, I cannot sit with folded hands and be a dumb spectator of my country's oppression. When I recollect that it was not at all the intention of the British

Democracy that their bureaucratic agents should rule the people with an iron hand, and when I find that in other parts of India home-rule has been set up in place of the other rule, my regret is all the keener and more poignant that it is surely the fault of the sons of the soil in not having elevated themselves to the blissful planes of democratic rule. I, for my part, have solemnly resolved, made a sacred vow before the Divine Mother, not to rest contented until and unless all such inequalities as are rooted in racial pride, prejudice, and lust of power, are entirely removed, and a Home Rule Parliament is set up at Nagpore for setting up enlightenment where ignorance now reigns and for promoting contentment and happiness among my countrymen. With such aspirations and ideals I cannot sit still when a golden opportunity presents itself before me to reach the goal. I would be a traitor to my countrymen if I do not take time by the forelock, and broaden the base of the liberties of countrymen from precedent to precedent, and reach the promised goal if it is within our sight. Methinks from Pisgah I see the promised

land flowing with honey and wine. I have lodged my protest with the Viceroy that my province should be set free from bureaucratic mis-rule. I have filed my petition of Rights for the political emancipation of my countrymen and the happy inauguration of Home rule parliament in my province. I feel sanguine that, almost within a month, the Montagu Scheme of Home Rule by instalments, fitful doles of responsible government at bureaucratic discretion, the academic scheme of a people's promotion from stage to stage contingent on the good will of the bureaucratic school-master, the scheme of transferred and reserved departments will be consigned to the limbo of oblivion, and a Home-rule Parliament will be set up at Nagpur as in the Presidency towns. I believe that it was the influence of Lord Curzon, and Lord Milner in the British War Cabinet of 1917, that is responsible for the declaration made on the 20th August of that year for setting up the goal of progressive realization of responsible government. The blunder was then made to give Home rule in instalments in the same way as a hard-

pressed debtor promises to discharge his debts in instalments. The blunder was based on the false assumption that Indians were unfit to rule themselves. The blunder was repeated in Montagu scheme which assumed the form of compartment autonomy, "those terrible ghosts of reserved subects which haunted our vision, disturbed our slumbers, benumbed our limbs, blimed our prospective, and ensured an era of incessant friction and bitter controversy."

Mr. Hard:

I use to a point of order, sir. The member cannot vertilate all his cart-load of grievances on this occasion when the resolution refers to man-power and war loan.

The President:

Please do not disturb the Member. He is in order.

Mr. Abhiman:

Sir I welcome this interruption from the member who has recently been preching the gospel of peace and good will amongst men and who asked his opponents 'to bury their hatchets and embrace him in frantic

amity with all the warmth of a lost prodigal son. It is this spirit of treating us as children ignorant of the ways of the world, it is this arrogant spirit of racial superiority that is at the bottom of all our controversies, and that will furnish a key to the strained relations now subsisting. Leaving this unpalatable subject, I say that I, entertaining such ideals, am perfectly justified in embracing every opportunity to further the progress of the political pilgrim, and lessen the distance to the goal even by forced marches. Now the proposition relates to man-power and war-loan. Yes, Sir, we are all agreed with absolute unanimity on the necessity of driving out the enemy with all possible speed. The member complained of poor response, and the spirit of bargaining displayed by moving amendments about Home-rule. I shall state my amendment or rider first before I answer the charge of bargaining imputed to me.

"This council is of deliberate opinion that there would be no hearty and enthusiastic response of the people to recruiting appeals

without the grant of Home-rule to the province."

"I say that there is no bargain in the amendment itself. It is only an expression of deliberate opinion of the accredited representatives of the people. It is only a rider or a supplement or corollary to the main proposition. With intent to promote recruiting by voluntary enlistment on a large scale commensurate with grim requirements of war, and with the deliberate object of stimulating recruiting by appealing to the masses, enlisting their active sympathies and gladdening their hearts that there will be no more official zoolum and bureaucratic terrorism, no more internments or externments, no more muzzling of the press, suppression of freedom of speech under the aegis of Home-rule, with such a laudable object of infusing hope and confidence into my countrymen, and dispelling all their despair and sullen submission, I have moved this supplementary proposition. Even if it amounts to bargaining, I plead guilty to the charge. It has been declared that England's adversity is India's opportunity. We must make hay

when the sun shines. He would be a foolish farmer who attempts to make hay in tempestuous weather. Crass ignorance of political history would impute such a charge to a political reformer. The failure of the harvest in England in 1846 helped the Corn-Law League to achieve its object. Even at Runnymeade the Magna Charta was bargained for and secured in 1215 from King John by the English Barons under stress of foreign war. "Grattan bargained for his Irish Parliament in 1782 under similar circumstances. Italians bargained for their national unity when France and Germany were fighting with each other. It is unnecessary to multiply instances. The same principle of bargaining would be found well illustrated in all conflicts between the Patricians and the Plebians, the Commons and the Lord's the aristocrats and democrats, and a ruling nation and a subject nation. The Holy Writ of Christendom has ordained: "Ask; it shall be given; knock, it shall be opened." Without continuous knocking at the official door, there is no hope of having the door opened, especially when the inmates are foreigners in deep slumbers snor-

ing to the roof. My proposition does not dissuade any person from joining in the Army; it does not scare him out of the recruiting depots.

On the other hand,

It furnishes a strong stimulus, a fresh incentive; it imparts a new impetus to wavering souls. It affords great assistance to recruiting. The Home Rule Statute of 1922 passed by the British Parliament has empowered the Governor-General-in-Council to set up Home-rule parliaments in Nagpur, Lahore, and elsewhere by publishing a notification in the official Gazette. The Viceroy consented to receive an Indian deputation of twenty elected members a week hence on the Petition of Rights presented to him signed by fifty-two elected members of our Legislative Council. My supplemental proposition, if passed by this Council, would strengthen our hands considerably, and fortify our position immensely. I have no faith in government by diplomacy or secrecy. Nor would any political agitation succeed by subterranean methods or secret furtive expediency. "We stand for Truth, Justice

and Liberty. We do not believe in confidential conversations, and diplomatic interviews. I say with or without the grant of Home Rule, we will do all that lies in our power to promote recruiting, and to induce and pursuade our despondent countrymen to enlist in the Army for driving out or smashing the Wild Beast that has entered our Burman Gateway. But we also say that recruiting numbers would increase a hundred-fold, a thousand-fold if people are made to feel that the era of bureaucratic mis-rule has ended, and a new era of Home-rule has dawned upon them. Such an expression of opinion cannot be proscribed or suppressed by any hysterical appeals for ensuring unity or harmony, or histrionical snobbism on bended knees. I therefore move this rider to the main proposition."

Mr. Swarajya formally seconded the supplementary proposition. Mr. Kirtikar supported it.

There-upon Mr. Hard rose to a point of order, and stated that the proposition moved by Mr. Abhiman with such verbose platitudes, and commonplaces illustrated by copious

references to patrician histories and Grattan's Parliament could never be an amendment to the proposition he had the honour to move; it was an independent proposition which should be moved at a later stage if time permitted. He wanted the President to disallow it and rule it out of order.

Mr. Abhiman :

"This objection ought te have been raised before I made my speech on it. I have given due notice of it as required by the rules. In his own speech he appealed to me not to move the amendment. Even the next speaker implored me on his bended knees not to move it. After the short speeches of Mr. Mopington and Mr. Gapington he should have appealed to the Chair for preventing me from moving it. So he ought to be estopped from raising any objection at this stage.

Mr. Hard :—

It may be that I raised this objection rather late. There is no law of limitation or, estoppel in such matters. A valid objection can be raised at any stage. It must be decided on its merits.

Mr. Abhiman :

I am prepared to argue that it is not an independent proposition which has no manner of connection with the main proposition. You say it has become necessary to raise troops. and war-loan. My proposition states that it would be best facilitated by the grant of Home-rule. If the member persists in raising his objection, I am prepared to alter its wording by adding these words at the end of the main proposition : viz "which would be best facilitated by the grant of Home-rule, ensuring a hearty and enthusiastic response."

"To sum up I say that it is not an independent proposition. The objection is raised too late. If on both these points the President decides against me, I say that the last clause I suggested may be added."

Mr. Hard :

I strongly object to any new amendment of the proposition without due notice at this stage.

The President :

Since he so strongly objects, I cannot

allow any new amendment. Any objection raised at any stage must be decided on its merits. Though the second proposition relates to the same matter, it is an independent proposition. So I rule your propostion out of order."

At this stage when many elected members wished to speak, the President ruled that they had no *locus standi,* much less after he had given his ruling. Thereupon fifty-two elected members including Mr. Abhiman, Mr. Prabhan, Mr. Swarajya, Mr. Kirtikar, left the Council Hall as a protest against bureaucratic high-handedness. Loud shouts of "*Long live Montagu Scheme.*" "*Long live bureaucratic rule*" and '*Vive le bureaucracy*' were heard. Only 24 members remained.

The President:

I am very sorry that the elected members did not realise their responsibilities to their constituencies. Some of them were shouting that they would never enter the Council chamber until Home Rule was granted.

Mr. Hard:

So I take it that the resolution is passed.

nem con, the undesirables and irreconcilables having left the meeting.

After the President had formally put it to vote, the meeting dissolved.

CHAPTER IX.

The Glorious Offensive and the Chinese Surrender.

As it is not intended to write the full military history of the Chinese Invasion of British India, the present attempt is only to give a rough outline of the campaign, and sketch the out-standing features of the great military efforts made by the Indian Army under the inspiring leadership of British generals. Almost all the leading ruling chiefs and princes rallied *en bloc* under the imperial flag of Britain. Hyderabad, Mysore, Baroda, and Travancore placed all their available resources at the disposal of the suzerain power. The princes of Rajputana, and the Punjab vied with one another in rendering all possible help to repel the invading army. The King of Siam and the Shan chiefs and several other princes enthusiastically supported the Indian armies. Without enforcing conscription, millions have voluntarily enlisted themselves, and were

sent to the Front after a course of preliminary training. As the Chinese had no efficient navy to harass Indian ports, transport of troops and munitions from Calcutta and Madras to Rangoon and Akyab was easily accomplished. While the Chinese ports were blockaded by the British Navy, Australia and New Zealand offered to send expeditionary forces to Burma. The Government of India respectfully declined their offers and intimated to them that if the war was protracted beyond a year, and India's resources were found inadequate, help from the Dominions over-seas would be sought.

War-fever seized the mandarin brains of Pekin. A patrol fight on the Chinese frontier was magnified a thousand-fold into an atrocious act of aggression. A strong army one million strong was mobilized in the southern province of Yünnan. The Chinese forces that were mobilized at Likiang and Tali were ordered under the experienced generalship of Mowng-wa-Lu to march through Yung-chang and Momein to seize the important railway station of Myitkyina, while a second army under the leadership of

Li-bwang rushed in massed formations to capture Bhamo. The third or eastern army with its head-quarters or base at Monglem marched on Hunlong. Thus after crossing the Chinese frontier the invading armies occupied a wide front in the northern part of Burma from Myitkyina to Kunlory, their objective being Mandalay. Before such an avalanche of invading forces, the British and Indian garrisons were either taken prisoners, or they retired to the south. Many towns which had no garrisons, such as Senbo, Katha and Mogok, surrendered to the enemy. Mandalay also fell; it was sacked. The enemy was harassed by the armies of Shan States on the west. Nevertheless, General Li Bwang marched with an army of at least four lakhs from Mandalay along the railway line, capturing Thaz, Shemyo, Tungoo and other towns north of Moulmein; by forced marches they occupied the port. Thus their line was lengthened from Mandalay to Moulmein.

Meanwhile strenuous endeavours were being made to repel the invaders. The islands of Ramri and Cheduba were made naval bases. The main Army advanced

from Rangoon, marched north-east with intent to cut the enemy's forces at some intermediate station between Mandalay and Moulmein; their objective was gained. At Tungoo a great battle was fought, inflicting heavy losses on the enemy. They fled north, while the enemy from Moulmein to Tharawadi fought and ignominously surrendered. While in the north at Yamethin and Thawarth, the enemy made attempts in vain to rally.

A second British Army marched from Akyab, passed through Avakan ranges, and seized Dalat. It was one glorious march driving the enemy forces north. The Irrawadi was crossed in boats. The Army advanced to Meikhta, and joined the Main Army at Thazi. In the plains west and north of Mandalay, the Mongol hordes fought the most decisive battle of the war. After three days' continuous fighting, they surrendered. More than two hundred thousand soldiers with 1000 heavy guns, and 200 æroplanes fell to the British Army as trophies. Nearly half a million of the Mongols perished in the campaign. Their

garrisons at Bhamo and Kunlong fled precipitately to Yunnan. The whole of Burma was freed from the Mongol pest.

Thus it would be seen that bureaucratic India had been a mere dependency of Britain sometimes as a drag on her free movements, and compromising her democratic reputation at Peace Conferences, while a self-governing India proved a valuable partner, a trusted comrade, and a real succouring friend in need, ready to send millions of troops to Europe to help Britain in vindicating the cause of Justice, Truth, Liberty, and Humanity.

CHAPTER X

FOUR FALLACIES

THE FALLACIES OF PEACEMEAL RESPONSIBILITY, ILLITERACY, ELECTORATE AND SOCIAL CLEAVAGE.

In response to an urgent telegraphic communication from the Viceroy after the surrender of the enemy near Mandalay, the Hon. Mr. Abu Bakr, and the Hon. Mr. Hopkinson were deputed by the Premier of Madras to go to Calcutta for concerting measures to celebrate the national victory over the Chinese armies in a befitting manner worthy of the traditions, the genius, and the ideals of the Indian people. The Indian Deputation headed by Mr. D. Abhiman of Nagpur was already there with their Petition of Rights for discussing with the Government of India on the inalienable and fundamental rights of British citizenship, and demanding that without any further delay or prevarication, a Home-rule Parliament or Assembly should be set up at

Nagpur. Mr. Abu Bakr accompanied by his friend Mr. Hopkinson paid a visit to the Besant Lodge where the members of the Deputation were staying. The Lodge was one of the most spacious and comfortable hotels run by an enterprising Brahman of the South on up-to-date lines for the comfort and convenience of the sambharu-eating gentry.

After the introduction and greetings were over Mr. Abu Bakr broke the ice by referring to the Petition of Rights, and was fully sanguine of the success of the mission.

"You seem to be very hopeful, Mr. Abu Bakr", Mr. Hopkinson expressed, "But I have my own doubts. If at all there is any hope, it arises out of the present joyous occasion of our brilliant victory over the Tartar hordes."

"Why do you say so?" asked Mr. Abhiman.

"They have once fixed upon a graded career of political responsibility for your province" answered Mr. Hopkinson "you must report progress every five years.

Further promotion will depend upon your political experience, public spirit, political judgement, stern sense of duty, high capacity, initiative and resourcefulness, smooth harmonious progress pursued in a spirit of goodwill, mutual forbearance, and a strong steady fixed purpose,— in a word high efficiency. You will have to convince the Viceroy that you have displayed such qualities during the last five years in a striking manner. There is no nepotism or favouritism in colleges of political training; personally I would allow self-determination to every nation and race. But my countrymen would apply those practical tests to Asiatic races on this side of the Indian Ocean. My countrymen apply one set of principles of good government or popular government on this side of Suez Canal."

"Quite so" said Mr Abhiman who knew that his European friend was a sincere lover of liberty and true type of liberty-loving Englishman, "Your countrymen allowed the right of self-determination or self-government to Czecho-Slavs, Jugo Slavs. Poles, Arabs, Armenians, and the semi-

savages of German East Africa. They did not suggest that all those people should be trained in a political college of administrative responsibility; their political privileges were not doled out piecemeal upon periodical examinations in cycles of five and ten years. I would refer to earlier instances when European statesmen thought fit to confer liberty on various nations rightly struggling to be free. When the Greeks were set free from the Turkish yoke nearly a century ago, the policy of doling out freedom in periodical instalments did not find favour with the British statesmen. In those days there were no Curzons or Milners telling the Greeks "you have been under the yoke of foreign rulers for two thousand years. You have no political experience worth the name. The Romans oppressed you for centuries. Then there were civil wars, confusion and anarchy. The Turks were chastising you with scorpions. At Navarino we destroyed their power. We will confer the boon of self-government or freedom step by step. Progressive realization of responsible Government is your goal. Once in five or ten years a British Commission will sit at Athens, and

examine your progress for doling out further instalments of liberty; we do this in your own interests to prevent political dyspepsia by wholesale doses; or anarchy and deluge would result in sudden transformation and catastrophic changes." I say such a message was not delivered to the Greeks after Navarino. The Gladstonian principle of 'It is liberty that befits liberty' was applied. The Greeks were made free at one stroke. I say the same when the Balkan states were set free from the galling yoke of the Turks. Similar arguments of progressive realisation of responsible government by graded stages were not advanced to the people of Bulgaria—Rumania, Servia, Montenegro, Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina. Those people were groaning under Turkish despotism, had no political experience, and had not even the advantages of benevolent despotism tempered by justice as we Indians had. The Slavs of the Balkan states had no experience of self-governing local boards as we had for the last forty years since the time of Ripon. Not merely Home-rule but independence was granted to twelve millions of slaves of the Balkan states. The fallacy of piece-meal

responsibility was not then a current coin in the political market. I believe that it was the influence of Curzon and Milner in the British War Cabinet that is responsible for the original idea of progressive realization of responsible government in the famous announcement of 20th August 1917. It was only an announcement of policy, not a royal proclamation or a parliamentary enactment. In these days when royal proclamations are whittled down, and explained away and parliamentary enactments remain as dead letter, mere announcements of policies intended are not unalterable like the laws of the Medes and the Persians. The Labour Cabinet did not care a pin for that announcement. Further I refer to the cases of Philippine Islands and also of Japan. The Americans did not confer Home-rule in instalments on the Filippinos on the ground that they had no experience of political responsibility. The Japanese had no such experience; still toy parliaments with reserved and transferred departments were not set up there; fully elected legislative assemblies with unfettered power and un-

divided responsibility were installed in Tokyo at one stroke."

"Why are you so dreadfully earnest, my friend?" interrupted Mr. Abu Bakr, "you have surveyed mankind from Japan to Balkan states down to Manilla. Mr. Hopkinson is a Home-ruler. He does not, and would not, stand in the way of your getting a Home-rule Parliament."

"As you come from a free and self-governing province," rejoined Mr. Abhiman, "You do not know the daily worries and vexations and the anxieties of a Minister under Montagu Scheme. I have had terrible bitter experience in the Council; you fancy that the days of Fullerism and O'Dwyerism are gone. We have under the Montagu scheme our own die-hards, Fossilons, and dug-outs to embitter our political life. I have stated our case fully in our Petition of Rights."

"We have come here to organize the celebration of our great unprecedented victory in co-operation and co-ordination with the central government." said Mr. Hopkinson, "we have come to mobilize our ways and

means to celebrate our Sedan, Sir. Your mission is one of woeful lamentation; ours is one of joyous felicitation; you have exploited history with advantage; I confess my inability to answer your irrefutable arguments."

"Our Petition of Rights refers to another striking instance which is very convincing" continued Mr. Abhiman, "It is the case of 10 millions of negro slaves in the United States. After the Civil War in 1864, the American statesmen did not confer political liberty on the liberated slaves in instalments. For ages they knew not freedom; they had no glorious past; their ancestors had not evolved any systems of philosophy, law or politics. Their past was one of unmitigated slavery. The fashionable arguments about social cleavage, and illiteracy applied with infinite force to the case of born slaves who had been set free, and given full electoral rights. There were no Curtises in Washington to suggest the periodical installations of the liberated slaves in graded spheres of political responsibility. I am greatly surprised that the descendants of those sturdy lovers of human

liberty who paid twenty million pounds for liberating slaves in their empire, should be afraid to confer political liberty on the descendants of a great historic nation who reared mighty empires and republics, and formed the centre of spiritual light and guidance to the civilized world. In that ill-fated announcement of progressive realisation of responsible government it is stated that the British Government and the Government of India should determine the time and the measure of subsequent political advancement. It is opposed to the doctrine of national self-determination preached from house-tops by the British statesmen. The owners or proprietors of slaves were not consulted, and were not allowed to determine or terminate the period of slavery. It is also true that hundreds of slaves protested against their emancipation. Ages of slavery had undermined the foundations of human longings for liberty; the human mind becomes enslaved, and deadened to all notions of self-respect or freedom. That accounts for the mentality of those safe moderates who ask for boons,

concessions, and birth-day gifts, and rejoice over the crumbs that fall from the master's table. Mr. Hopkinson, have you ever considered the case of beasts which love freedom, unless they are entrapped, chained or domesticated? The animal domestication is analogous to foreign subjugation of one nation by another. A British Premier once spoke of the intolerable yoke of foreign domination."

"You should not become excited", said Mr. Hopkinson, "Have patience; *festina lente* is a safe maxim: make haste slowly."

"I understand your gospel very well," rejoined Mr. Abhiman "It is often an excuse for burking or shelving all unpleasant problems. I put a simple case of guardianship before you for your consideration. A guardian has been managing the estate of a minor consisting of a big bungalow, fruit garden, vegetable garden, vast areas of cultivable land, cattle and pasture land, rich mica mines, rubber plantations, Government promissory notes, railway shares, and municipal debentures. The minor attains his majority, and makes a modest request to his guardian

to hand over the management of his estate, also requesting his guardian not to sever his connection with the estate, but to exercise a general supervision and control over his management assisting him with his valuable experience. Suppose the guardian turns round and informs his ward: 'I am not satisfied with mere guidance and superintendence; you are a novice with no experience. you are not fitted to assume full responsibility; I shall now hand over possession of a portion of the estate, such as the bungalow, the fruit-garden, and the vegetable garden. If you manage them with skill and efficiency for five years to my entire satisfaction I shall hand over the cultivable lands, the pasture land, and rubber plantations. Again on proving your efficiency after ten years, I shall entrust you with mica mines; gradually the possession of the whole estate would be delivered to you as you make steady and continued progress.' Supposing the ward pleads that such a piecemeal delivery was unprecedented, how would you defend, Mr. Hopkinson, the policy of such a Curtis-guardian?"

"I would throw up my brief," replied Mr. Hopkinson, "I will advise him either to deliver the whole thing or to refuse to deliver it. I will not bother my head and make myself miserable by such periodical doles of management."

"If I was not honestly inclined," interposed Mr. Abu Bakr, "I would set up a false plea of insanity of my ward, and try to continue in management as long as possible till I am ejected by force of law or public opinion."

"The answer is just like yourself," Mr. Abhiman remarked, "In the present case insanity is not set up, but only inexperience. In all cases of delivery of estates, wards have no experience. They would acquire it only when they begin to manage it. If you are not much impressed by this analogy, I would draw your attention to the case of citizens of French India. In Chandranagore Pondicherry, and Karikal, manhood suffrage was granted forty years ago. Thousands of Indian peasants and labourers exercise the franchise, and record their vote for electing members to the municipalities, rural boards,

and the legislative assembly; and they also elect one Deputy and one Senator to the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate of the French Republic. Free elementary schools have been established in every village, along with the universal franchise. How happy, contented and prosperous are the French Indian citizens, and peasants?"

"Sometime ago you spoke of republics of ancient India." interrupted Mr. Hopkinson, "Are you manufacturing a false history of India? Absolute despotism was the outstanding feature of ancient India. We have introduced elective institutions for the first time in India. Give us credit for that, at least."

Mr. Abu Bakr corrected his friend and assured him that he was grossly misinformed about ancient India.

"The charge has been levelled at me." continued Mr. Abhiman, "I am prepared to defend myself, and the boomerang will recoil on his own head. You say I have manufactured Indian History. The truth is that Anglo-Indian writers and missionaries have falsified our histories on account of their

ignorance of the classical literature of ancient India. The latest researches of oriental scholars, Indian and European, show clearly that in the Punjab, Rajputana and elsewhere, there were many republican city-states on the Greek model, and also many confederacies of kingless self-governing states which opposed the army of Alexander. Mr. Cunningham of the Archaeologoical Department of the Government of India and a host of other scholars have deciphered many inscriptions and discovered hundreds of coins of such republican states and kingless oligarchies. Megasthenes, Arrian and other Greek writers have referred to such republican states. Even the recent Anglo-Indian historian Vincent Smith has admitted the existence of such self-governing kingless states. In your profound ignorance you revel in false history, false politics, and false economics. Our village Punchayets described as model republics by Sir Thomas Munro have existed from time immemorial. Of our caste meetings, and conferences you have no knowledge. How many English writers, Anglo-Indian civilians and administrators,

have read the great ancient Sanskrit treatise on Politics viz., Arthasastra by Kautilya? Your Anglo-Indian scribblers talk glibly about ancient India without knowing anything about the vast ocean of the ancient literature of India. Your minds have been fed on garbled accounts of missionary writers, and distorted versions of prejudiced Anglo-Indian writers. Sir William Jones was the first to open the gates of the vast wealth of our ancient literature Sir Monier Williams, Max Muller, Whitney, Barth and Deussen, down to Vincent Smith have been exploring the vast mine, and exhibiting specimen gems for the publc gaze. Innumerable Indian scholars like Bhandarkar, Rajendra Lal Mitra, Vidya Sagar, Mandlik, Ranade, and Telang have been engaged in the patriotic task of writing their national history of certain periods.

Unfortunately there has been no Macaulay to popularize the true version of the greatness of ancient India. Your minds have been stuffed with stories of kings with 60,000 sons born in a pumpkin, seven seas of treacle and butter and monkeys running to the sun to

take a few lessons in Panini's grammar from the solar charioteer. Your Chirols and Chesneys produce a cart-load of arrant nonsense about Indian capacity and Indian character. It is no wonder that your politicians fed on such a literature, and ignorant of the real condition of modern India, should magnify ordinary human weaknesses as Indian national weaknesses, and profess to train us in colleges of political responsibiliy. How many of you, Sir, have ever read or heard of Max Muller's *India, What it can teach us* ?"

" My dear Abhiman, why do you rake up such questions ?" interrogated Mr. Abu Bakr.

" We have argued those points elaborately in our Petition of Rights" answered Mr. Abhiman, " I say India's demand cannot be answered by dogmatic negatives. The author of the phrase " India crying for the moon," must have recanted his heresy; and it is strange that he claimed the Montagu Scheme as his political progeny. About eight years ago there used to be an academic discussion as to how many points of the Congress-League Scheme had been embodied in the Montagu Scheme; one Political sage counted

26 items of agreement. I was sometimes reminded of similar discussions in the Middle Ages in Europe on the technical question as to how many angels or saints could dance on the point of a needle."

"I have heard in the newspapers about the Congress Scheme," interrupted Mr. Hopkinson, "In those days I took very little interest in Indian politics on the ground that a subject nation has no politics. Pray tell me something about the Scheme."

"I am not surprised at your asking me such a question." replied Mr. Abhiman, "when Governors of provinces did not care to read even the bare resolutions of the Indian National Congress. The Congress Scheme was a timid and halting measure of political reforms demanded by educated Indians nine or ten years ago. Years of mental subjection to foreign domination have enslaved the national mind, and crippled that sturdy fortitude of mind and staunch feeling of patriotism, so that the mentality of the Indian reformers found solace and comfort in the maxim that half a loaf is better than no bread. The demand for Home-Rule acted like a red

rag on an infuriated bull, and scared away those timid sons of the soil from the nationalistic camp. It is a species of animal domestication."

"It is all true, Sir, but you know that an overwhelming portion of the population is illiterate, and cannot form an intelligent electorate," said Mr. Hopkinson. "My countrymen say that the system is in the experimental stage in the three Presidencies. Political Rome was not built in a day. Have patience."

"We had patience for a century and a half," replied Mr. Abhiman. "The situation has become intolerable. We have been crying hoarse since 1885. Practically it has been a voice in the wilderness. We have been crying for military careers for our sons. The people have been disarmed and emasculated; after an agitation for thirty years, you were pleased to offer a few commissions say 50 or 100 when 15,000 new officers were wanted for an army of half a million raised in 1918 in the last German War. It is suicidal statesmanship. It is a suicidal policy in the best interests of the

Empire. Leaving aside the case of our Moslem rulers who appointed Hindu generals, we find Russians appointing Turkoman Officers in Siberia. Indians were grieved to find that English tailors and shop-assistants, and hair-dressers were considered eligible for military commissions in preference to the sons of the Indian aristocracy, and the landed gentry."

"I asked you about the appalling illiteracy" said Mr. Hopkinson "You refer to hair-dressers and military commissions. Once I was a hair-dresser myself in London. Is that a disqualification to serve in His Majesty's Army?"

"I beg your pardon Sir," replied Mr. Abhiman who was not aware of the hair-dressing antecedents of the member for Anglo-Indians affairs, "It is news to me that you were once a hair-dresser before you came to India; I must apologise to you for this unintentional insult. I have been referring only to the short-sighted policy followed by the military authorities here. As to the charge of illiteracy and the absence of an electorate, I say you are putting the cart before the horse. Representative institutions

will create the necessary electorate, and afford the necessary political training. You are fighting against historical facts. Without allowing us to enter the water, you want us to swim. I shall convince you by a few examples. The same fallacy underlies many of the reforms of the Montagu Scheme under which we have been groaning all these years. Take the case of Britain. Before the Reform Bill of 1832, there were about 15,000 voters forming the electorate, controlling more than half the seats. I refer to those days of 'Pocket Boroughs' and 'Rotten Boroughs.' In 1840, eight years after the Reform Bill, which gave the franchise to the middle classes, we find that half the Englishmen who were married in that year, and had to sign the marriage register, were illiterate, and could not sign their names in English! Please realise the significance of this fact when you argue that illiteracy is a bar to the franchise. In many constituencies in Ireland nearly half the numbers of voters could not sign their names. Lord Morley refers to this fact in his Life of Gladstone. Even at the time of the Second Reform Bill of 1867,

illiteracy prevailed. Thirty eight years after the first Reform Bill, free elementary schools were set up by Forster's Education Act. When he introduced the Bill in the House of Commons, he complained of "much imperfect education," and "*much absolute ignorance.*" You should not forget that your first Parliament of Simon de Montfort was in 1295. Even after six centuries of Parliamentary Government we find in England "*much absolute ignorance.*" When such is the case in your own country the mother of Modern Parliaments, why do you fix impossible standards of utopian perfection to my unfortunate country? So it was in Japan when the first Parliament was established. Take the case of Canada before self-government was granted in 1840. Lord Durham in his report states that the people were "*almost destitute of the qualifications even of reading. It is impossible to exaggerate the want of education among its inhabitants.*" (I quote from my memory). What do you find after 75 years of self-governing institutions in Canada? The response came in the last German War. In every civilized country where you find

responsible government, mists of illiteracy clear away before the scorching sun of Home-rule. The exception of Prussia which is a military autocracy proves that rule. It is unreasonable and contrary to stubborn facts of history, that Engligh Statesmen should set up illiteracy and want of an electorate as a bar to the grant of Home-rule?"

"I have not worried myself" Mr. Hopkinson replied, "about political histories and parliamentary institutions. You have made a special study of them as a politician. I confess I am an amateur in the line. I will order a few books on the political history of England and make up for my deficiency. Then I will quote chapter and verse to refute you and, as it were, to beard the lion in his den. I admit the force of your arguments about illiteracy and the electorate. I feel sure that you will smash your opponents in no time. Is Mr. Hard coming up? I wonder how he will be able to answer you. They say that healthy social conditions are a condition precedent for political development."

"There again you commit the same fallacy." Mr. Abhiman answered his friend, "Political equality at the polling booth will level down all social distinctions, class privileges, and caste distinctions, infuse a spirit of common brotherhood, promote *esprit de corps* among the electors and unify them by bringing them under the common political platform. The high-caste man, or the haughty aristocrat, would have to seek the suffrages and the votes of the backward or depressed classes and common plebians. What has become of the racial animosities, and religious persecutions between the Catholic French Canadian, and the Prostestant British Canadian, or the Boer and the Briton in South Africa? Have you not heard that more than a dozen languages are used in political discussions in the Reichsrath of Austria-Hungary? You shut your eyes to ascertained facts of History. Like the frog in the pond, you fancy that there is no outside world beyond the little horizon of bureaucracy. Everywhere we find that bureaucracies are always inimical to political progress, and fatal to industrial and commercial development. Search all

your political histories; scrutinise all the records of parliamentary development; you will find that social and political progress would go hand in hand; *pari passu*; social efficiency would be promoted, and social justice would be done only after the establishment of responsible government under the aegis or fostering care of self-governing institutions We find the same principle illustrated in England. It was only after the first Reform Bill, laws relating to factories, pauperism, workmen's compensation, old age pensions, insurance, and in fact labour legislation, were passed by the elected representatives of the people. I ask you, Mr. Hopkinson, whether it stands to reason to set up ideal standards of perfection, electoral and social perfection as a condition, precedent for the grant of responsible government. I say that creed of bureaucracy is founded on a number of false presumptions viz., its own infallibility and all-pervading altruism, mistaking human weakness as special national foibles, and its supposed versatality to suit all possible conditions, and its adaptability to changing environment; it

would brook no change, avoid publicity and all fierce light, and bury its head, ostrich-like, in the shifting sands of time."

"I will not accept all your statements as Gospel truth," protested Mr. Hopkinson. "You say that bureaucracy will brook no change. How many reforms have been introduced in India during the last forty years through its instrumentality?"

"I say that almost all the reforms were passed in spite of the opposition of the bureaucracy," rejoined Mr. Abhiman, "you have not studied the history of bureaucracy during the last forty years. When any change demanded becomes irresistible, it would succumb to the inevitable. Have you not heard of retiring provincial Governors lamenting that on account of the out-voting and opposition of the civilian members of their executive councils they were impotent to liberalize the administration? In Ripon's Viceroyalty, bureaucratic opposition reached its zenith. Canning was denounced as 'Clemency Canning.' Ripon intended that municipalities and rural boards should be placed under non-official control, so as to

train the people in the art of self-government and he also wanted that free education should be imparted to the people. How were his beneficent intentions frustrated till Mr. Montagu reformed them? In 1917 in your own province, Mr. Abu Bakr, an elected member moved a resolution for appointing a non-official President of one or two district boards out of 25 boards as an experiment. The bureaucratic reply was "Not yet" "premature." When Mr. Bradlaugh wanted to bring in a private bill of electoral reform for India, the Conservative Cabinet passed the Lord Cross' Act of 1892. "It was the influence of Lords Morley and Minto that was responsible for the paltry reforms of 1909. That fascinating book "Morley's Recollections" shows what regard the great Liberal statesman had for the bureaucracy in India. Ripon's plan of free education took forty years for maturing on account of the opposition of the bureaucracy, notwithstanding the efforts of Gokhale in 1910 and Sarma in 1918. Bureaucracy kept the recommendations of the Decentralisation Commission for a decade as the period of incubation. The

promise of provincial autonomy in the Royal proclamation of 1911 was fulfilled in 1919 by the exertions of Mr. Montagu. The Public Services Commission was appointed on account of a resolution of an elected member of the Imperial Legislative Council"

"I think your list is sufficient Mr. Abbiman," interposed Mr. Abu Bakr, "I fear it would become as long as the list of Homeric heroes, or it would lengthen out like the tail of Hanuman in Ravana's Court. I am indenting on the Ramayana for my illustration. Am I right?"

"Do you claim any bureaucratic or Papal infallibility?" asked Mr. Abbiman, "your interference is always welcome. When the proud king did not give a seat, like some of our District Collectors, to the ambassador of Sri Rama, he helped himself with a seat by his psychic powers. I had to give those instances of bureaucratic opposition on account of our friend's challenge with intent to convince him."

"I never challenged you," said Mr. Hopkinson, "I wanted to learn from you, and provoke

you to a discussion as an intellectual recreation to me. You are so full of facts and figures and arguments that it is really a treat to hear you on a provocation. I sincerely tell you that I am convinced of the reasonableness of your demands. I had a lurking suspicion in my bosom whether the Indians would be able to defend themselves against a foreign invasion. In the present war I have found that self-governing provinces, which had reared citizen armies trained by British and Indian officers have poured out millions of troops against the invaders, and entrapped them in the meshes and fastnesses of Burmah. You lacked opportunities in the past. Under the vivifying influence of Home-rule you have progressed by leaps and bounds. Really I admit your progress all along the line—political, social, industrial, educational, and commercial, phenomenal. It has materialized in the ignominous surrender of the Mongols. I would compliment my vehement friend who is bubbling with righteous indignation on the wrongs committed on his 'people, by saying that if he argued only with half the zeal and

argumentative persuasion as he argued before us, the Viceroy would not leave Nagpur to the tender mercies of Die-hards and dug-outs, but crown his mission with success."

"Thank you for your flattering remarks." Mr. Abhiman said, "you have referred to the present Mongol War. I would draw your attention to the contribution made by India in the last German War. India sent to the various fronts during that protracted war, as many men as those of all the Colonies and over-seas Dominions put together and even more. While the mother country lent more than 200 millions of pounds to the Dominions, India, one of the poorest countries in the world, made a gift of 100 millions, and lent to her Imperial Trustee and Guardian more than 100 millions. England should have censured her bureaucratic agents in India for their niggardly use of India's man-power of seventy-five millions of fighting adults. As one of the recently captured Mongol orders stated, India under Home-rule is impregnable; and India under bureaucratic rule was vulnerable."

"Some of my countrymen would say you

have been asking for Home-rule only since 1916. Ireland got Home-rule after a century or half-a-century of presistent agitation. So they would say you can afford to wait." Mr. Hopkinson expressed as a soothing reflection to the aggrieved spirit of Mr. Abhiman.

"The one thing I dislike is the frequent quoting of the case of Ireland." Mr. Abu Bakr said in disgust, "It is an absolutely false analogy. Ireland sends more than 100 representatives to the House of Commons. In the days of Parnell, the Irish contingent controlled the destinies of cabinets, and had a potent voice in moulding the affairs of the British nation. But India is absolutely unrepresented. Lal Mohon Ghose and W. C. Bonnerje tried and failed. Our Dadabhai succeeded and Bhownuggree was set up as a conservative counter-blast. Some may say that 700 members of the House of Commons are members for India. Fowler or Lord Wolverhampton once set up such an absurd claim. They are responsible only to God for due governance of India, leaving aside the Imperial Conference recently set up."

"You are talking of high imperial politics." retorted Mr. Hopkinson, "My mind runs on purely parochial lines or provincial spheres of public life. Practical common-sense is my guide. I have learnt a lot today from Mr. Abhiman. But one thing which I cannot easily digest is his statement about ancient republics of India. It is opposed to all our cherished convictions, at variance with accepted canons of our historic belief. Recently I have been reading Macaulay's essays on Clive and Warren Hastings. No doubt India has enormously changed since then. Ancient republics of India is too big a pill for me to swallow. These are home-rule days. It accounts for such garbled accounts of your glorious past."

"I pity you for your profound ignorance" said Mr. Abhiman, "Echoes of the sentiments and prejudices you expressed are found in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report too. I am not surprised that a planter like you with no pretensions to high culture should have been ignorant of the latest historical researches. Please pardon me for my plain speaking. I am irritated only when cultured

Englishmen, politicians, and journalists, speak and write in a similar perverse strain. Their ignorance of true Indian history is unpardonable. I would have asked you to read a book published by an Indian scholar of great repute on the ancient republics of India based on a study of coins and inscriptions and contemporary literature. But the author is an Indian. I would rather advise you to read Mr. Vincent Smith's Early History of India, and also Cunningham's Coins of Ancient India, and his Geography of Ancient India. He designates them as "the autonamous coins of ancient India." There were many famous republican communities in Northern India like the *Yandheyas*, the *Audumburas* and the *Malavas*. They had no kings, but large elected councils. Greek and Roman writers like Megasthenes, Arrian, and Curtius mention the names of *seventeen* republican states in ancient India. The institutes of Manu refer to a typical Hindu Council of 33 members consisting of four Brahmans and 29 non-Brahmans. When Alexander invaded India, the city of Nyasa refused to send as hostages 100 elders to Alexander out of a council of 300 elders.

There were many self-governing kingless communities like the Lichchhavis. Their capital was Vaisali having a council of 5,000 members, each member contributing one elephant as his tax or war contribution. I am speaking from my memory. The existence of republics in ancient India is an undisputed historical fact. They were called as *arastras* or *arattas* meaning kingless. The words *sreni*, *gana* were used in Sanskrit literature both for republics and kingless oligarchies; you must read those books written by your own countrymen. How some of these wiseacres foolishly prate about India's past without acquainting themselves with the authoritative books on Indian History! Such unintentional libels we treat with contempt and pity."

"You also referred to the case of Ireland, Mr. Hopkinson," continued Mr. Abhiman "I ask you just to recollect that when Mr. Gladstone introduced a Home-rule Bill in 1886, it was rejected, as it was stated that the predominant partner was not converted. Your Salisburys and Chamberlains, Curzons, Balfours and Lansdowns predicted disrup-

tion of the Empire if Home-rule were granted to Ireland. The Salisbury recipe of 20 years of stern resolute government was applied. During the last German war, the folly of having refused Home-rule to that unfortunate country was seen in all its nakedness. Your Balfours, Lansdowns and Curzons would then regard the question of Irish Home-rule as a war measure, and implore the Irish to suggest a scheme of Home-rule acceptable to the whole of Ireland. The bogey of disruption of Empire was forgotten. Similarly when Montagu proposed a halting scheme of reform in 1918, not Home rule for India, Sydenhams, Lansdownes and Lamingtons predicted administrative and political chaos and anarchy; all those enemies of the Empire proved false prophets. Like the Bourbons some of our politicians never learn anything. The last German war which was really the first war of liberation of humanity from political bondage, has not taught them anything, and has only hardened their hearts. I have come from Nagpur to argue on our Petition of Rights and demand Home-rule for my province tossed

about in contrary directions in the political cradle of Curtis model, imploring the Viceroy not to repeat their Irish blunders in Nagpur. Our future is on the lap of the gods."

"May success crown your efforts" was the only response from Mr. Hopkinson.

"I hope you have your angle of vision completely changed." Mr. Abu Bakr said, "You have given up all your old prejudices about the microscopic minority of educated classes and all such sophistic platitudes. Two or three years ago, we had a long conversation at the club. You remember how I proved by quoting statistics that in all civilized countries educated and cultured classes form a very small minority; as mountain peaks first catch the radiance of the sun, and illuminate the valleys below, the educated classes in every civilized country educate the masses about their rights and privileges, frame new policies, popularize them, mould and guide public opinion; and lawyers play a predominant part in such humane and liberalizing endeavours. It is the case throughout the world. In your ignorance or arrogant prejudice, you

stigmatize it as a defect peculiar to India. I assure you, time is on our side; forces, irresistible forces of progress are arrayed against the crumbling ruins of the old-fashioned citadel of bureaucratic autocracy. We shall soon have the glorious spectacle of an Indian India,—a free, self-governing and responsible India under the suzerainty of Britain, forming an integral part of the great Commonwealth of the British Empire."

After some desultory conversation Mr, Abu Bakr and Mr. Hopkinson left the lodge, wishing success to their friend's mission.

CHAPTER XI.

CONCLUSION.

I.

H. E. Lord Cotton was the Viceroy and Governor-General appointed by the Labour Ministry under the Home Rule Act of 1922; he had to play the part of a constitutional Governor-general as in a self-governing colony. In the Imperial Legislative Assembly, there were two hundred elected members from all the provinces, dealing with Imperial matters affecting the whole commonwealth. There was a separate Secretary of State for India exercising similar powers over India like the Secretary of State for the Colonies. It was once proposed that there should be one Secretary of State for the Colonies including India under his supervision. The proposal was vetoed on the ground that Indian affairs would occupy the full attention of one Secretary of State, and it was not expedient to burden the Colonial Secretary

with the multifarious concerns of the India Office which had been abolished.

Sir M. Paramasivam was the Premier for Imperial Affairs. The system of party government was in full swing. It was originally apprehended that the system would break down on account of the inexperience of Indian politicians with the western systems of Government by party. Such apprehensions proved entirely unfounded. As in Japan, the smooth harmonious cabinet government that prevailed in Dehli falsified the forebodings of bigoted politicians of the west, and inaugurated a new era of popular liberty, and promoted the happiness and contentment of the people in a manner undreamt of in the west. The Russo-Japanese war brought Japan into the fore-front of nations. The Mongol Invasion of India enabled her to take her proper place among the enlightened nations of the earth. Under the aegis and inspiring guidance and supervision of England, India rose to hegemony in Asia, with her population of more than 350 millions. England's position in the councils of the world has been immensely

enhanced on account of India's triumph over the Mongol and she has been raised to a high pedestal of power and influence, and a pinnacle of prestige, predominance and glory unparallelled in the annals of the human race. A self-governing India under her suzerainty was an imperishable crown of glory to her genius of administration.

The Premier had often brought to the notice of the Viceroy that the Montagu Scheme was an impracticable and unworkable anachronism utterly unsuited to modern requirements. The system was too subtle, too brittle, too complicated, and antediluvian to suit the requirements of the modern world of democracy. Every session of the Legislative Council of Nagpur afforded fresh proofs of its academic devices, and its friction-creating potentialities. It was a curious mixture of autocracy and democracy; it never blended: and the ingredients remained separate, having strong sediments of factious strife and rankling animosities. Perhaps under an ideal governor with strong constitutional instincts, aided by the active co-operation of sympathetic bureaucracy bereft of racial pride,

the system might have passed as a tolerable expedient in a transitional stage. But, human nature being what it is, especially under the strong democratic currents of world forces, it was folly to expect that it would be successful. The Premier clearly pointed out that seven years of bureaucratic rule under the Scheme had brought turmoil and confusion in a tranquil province, goading its inhabitants to passive resistance.

"Have you not read in the newspapers, Your Excellency," said the Premier, "that the fifty-two elected members of the Legislative Council of Nagpur, including all the leaders such as Abhiman, Swarajya, Kirtikar, Ganpat, and Prabhan, left the Council Chamber in a body when the Governor swayed by that antediluvian bureaucrat Hard, refused to allow a Home-Rule amendment to the main proposition on man-power. The members convened a public meeting on the next day when 5000 citizens were said to have assembled; and resolutions on passive resistance were passed boycotting all honorary offices, District and Muncipal Boards and the Legislative Council and 3754 citizens

are said to have taken oaths before the deity in the adjoining temple. I ask Your Excellency to consider what would happen if such a movement spreads to the districts. All those members hailed from different districts. I would inform or remind Your Excellency that the province is inhabited chiefly by the Mahrattas. They are a spirited and manly race. They cannot be cowed to submission. Supposing as the Governor and his executive councillors recommended, we adopt a policy of severe coercion and place the province under martial law, what would be the state of the province? It will border on civil war. Force is no remedy to popular ills. It has never succeeded in any part of the world in ancient or modern times. Still we find that short-sighted despots and purblind bureaucrats advocate coercion as a remedy. I was amused at their quoting the late Lord Salisbury's opinion in 1886 that twenty years of stern and resolute government would restore peace and happiness to Ireland. It was before the grant of Home Rule to that unfortunate country. First of all I would ask them whether stern rule of

20 years in Ireland restored peace in Ireland. As a matter of fact civil war was imminent in 1916 and 1918 even after 30 years of stern rule without Home-Rule. It was ridiculous that I should argue the point before Your Excellency."

"I should think so" the Viceroy replied, "It is a wonder to me how after repeated warnings, Fossilon and Hard persisted in thwarting the wishes of the people. After starving the transferred subjects, they augmented supplies for C. I. D. Police. The Grand Committee, what a name! there is no grandeur in it, armed with a Governor's certificate, was found a convenient tool for the bureaucratic masters. They discarded all our repeated communications to them to use the Committee in rare and exceptional cases. All oppressive legislation was rushed through the Grand Committee. All inconvenient interpellations were disallowed or answered in a monosyllable. Press was gagged, public speakers were muzzled or harassed; oh ! the oppression is unthinkable; the Montagu Scheme afforded no protection against such misrule. Leaving aside its

ominous silence on fiscal policy, it has not conferred any real power on the people. Hence its failure. That clever expedient of the Council of State was intended to perpetuate bureaucratic rule. Happily it was done away with, when Home-Rule was set up at Delhi. The Deputation will see us tomorrow. It would be better if you will send for Mr. Abhiman and inform him that in the next week a Notification would appear in the Gazette setting up a Home-Rule Assembly at Nagpur. Please tell him that their prayers have been answered. Their Petition of Rights has secured them their charter for freedom."

The Premier assented and informed the Viceroy that there could be no harm if the deputation was received by him; They wanted to lay their grievances at the toot of the throne. It was but right that the accredited representative of our august Sovereign His Majesty the King Emperor, should receive the deputation and answer their prayers.

"Yes, we shall receive the deputation. You have already wired to Fossilon not to send

Hard here." was the reply of the Viceroy. The telegram was sent; a reply received from Fossilon to the effect that the Deputation too should be stopped, even though the members might have been on their way to Calcutta. Fossilon quoted a precedent of 1918 for the guidance of the Government of India. The British War Cabinet had once stopped nine years ago Home-Rule Deputations at Colombo and even Gibraltar. The Premier was amused to read it, and informed the Viceroy that Nagpur bureaucracy was blind, and could not see that bureaucratic India in 1918, was totally different from democratic India in 1927 and no reply was sent to such a foolish telegram and the best reply, he thought, would be the Notification in the Gazette conferring Home-Rule on Nagpur. The Premier urged that it was on that ground specially the Deputation should be received by the Viceroy and publicly thanked for having saved the province.

The Viceroy and the Premier and the other members of the Imperial Cabinet received the Deputation at the Belvidere Palace. Mr. Abhiman read the Petition of Rights,

when the Premier intimated to him that no argumentative speeches were needed; and informal discussion would suffice inasmuch as the Viceroy had decided to publish a Notification granting Home Rule to Nagpur. After some desultory conversation Mr. Abhiman expressed his profound thanks on behalf of the Deputation and the people of the Central Province to the Viceroy and his Cabinet for putting an end to the bureaucratic misrule and granting Home Rule to his Province. The Viceroy said the best way to celebrate the joyous event of Chinese surrender at Mandalay was by diffusing the blessings of popular Government to the remaining provinces and non-Regulation districts in India. After an hour's conversation the members of the Deputation departed.

II.

Two hundred aeroplanes of the Mongols carried to India were delivered to the victors at Mandalay; and they were brought to Calcutta in special trains. The Viceregal Lodge was inundated with hundreds of cablegrams and telegrams from all parts of the world; and they were selected, printed and

published in an Extra-ordinary Gazette of the Government of India. The seat of the central Government was ordered to be removed to Delhi as before. A national Thanksgiving Day was ordered to be celebrated throughout India. Bells were ordered to be rung in all churches; and special prayers offered in mosques and temples. The streets of Calcutta were adorned with flags, arches, festoons and floral decorations, were illuminated, and formed a gay spectacle of great joy and roaring mirth. Throughout the length and breadth of the continent of India, in every village, town and city, the brilliant victory over the Chinese was celebrated with great solemnity and dignity.

The Viceroy received the following congratulatory cablegram from His Majesty the King-Emperor, and also cablegrams from the British Premiers of Canada, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand and also from the Presidents of the United States of America and the French Republic.

"Glory to the Highest! Pray, accept my warm congratulations on the most brilliant victory achieved by the Indian people over

a barbarous foe who has been brought to his knees. The unprecedented surrender of nearly two lakhs of Mongols and 1000 guns and 200 aeroplanes, has gladdened our hearts and raised India to a pinnacle of glory. A free self-governing India forming an integral part of the British Empire is a tower of strength and a crown of glory to the Empire over which I have been privileged to rule. Please inform the people of India that I love them as my own kith and kin, their contentment and prosperity is my highest reward. Most hearty congratulations on such a glorious and magnificent victory.

George, R. I.

The following reply was sent by the Viceroy:—

"On behalf of the people of India I thank you most heartily for Your Majesty's telegram of congratulations on our magnificent victory unparallelled in the history of modern world. They warmly appreciate the inestimable benefit of British connection with their motherland; and they fervently pray that the tie connecting India with Britain may re[illegible] unbroken for ever and ever; and

Long live the King-Emperor of England. forms a part of their daily prayers. A thousand thanks for Your Majesty's appreciation of our War-efforts in bagging the enemy. *May the British Empire last for ever illumining the darkest corners of the earth with its effulgent rays of liberty and democracy!"*

Cotton.